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BISHOP BROWNLOW.

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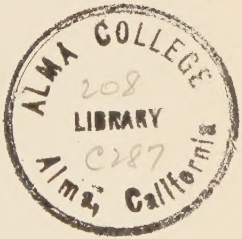

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BISHOP BROWNLOW

(1830—1901)

BY THE REV. VINCENT McNABB, O.P.

William Robert Brownlow was born on July 4, 1830, at Wilmslow Rectory, Cheshire, his father, William Brownlow, being Rector of the parish. It was a year of great import in modern social and intellectual history. Auguste Comte's *Philosophie Positive* had enunciated one of the world-wide generalizations which anticipated, if it did not prepare, the way for our modern naturalistic theories. Thomas Arnold had been twelve months at his work at Rugby. Revolutions were taking place in South America, Poland, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and France. The Birmingham Political Union had agitated for a Reform which Wellington, then Premier, declared to be irreconcilable with the British Constitution. On this issue the victor of Waterloo had been defeated, and Grey had formed the Ministry which, by passing the Reform Bill (1832), began a new era in English political life, and by suppressing ten Irish bishoprics (1833), gave occasion to Keble's Assize Sermon on "National Apostasy,"

which began a new era in English religious life. To the latter event Newman refers in the *Apologia :* "The following Sunday, July 14th, Mr. Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833." By that religious movement William Robert Brownlow was later on to be led to the Catholic Church.

The early training of the future Bishop was of that deep and thorough kind which leaves its mark on a lifetime. From the Bishop's scanty references to his family we can gather that the home-life at the Cheshire Rectory must have sown the good seed with no unstinting hand. Piety was fostered in the household. A sister of the Bishop, Melise Brownlow, who was three years his junior, died in 1857 after a life of singular goodness and self-forgetfulness. Her last days, though full of suffering, were passed in complete resignation to God's holy will. Shortly after her death her brother published a pamphlet with the title, *A Short Memoir of Melise H. M. Brownlow*, which was the earliest of his published works.

He was sent to school at Rugby. His singularly straightforward character was easily influenced by the spirit which Arnold had stamped on the school. To that spirit Newman has drawn attention in the memorable words of his *Apologia :* "The [Liberal] party . . . by the accession of Dr. Arnold's pupils was invested with an elevation of character which claimed the respect even of its opponents." Another picture of the characters formed by Arnold and his spirit gives an insight into the principles which moulded William Brownlow's life. "The Rugby boys were a sort of flesh-and-blood argument for the powerful living force of Arnold's religion. The inconsistency in the current Christianity

between the language of the orthodox preacher in the pulpit and the practical standard aimed at and even revered by the average Churchman was at least minimized by Arnold. He preached to his pupils practical lessons on the actual duties of their state of life, and the standard aimed at by them was the standard held up in his sermons. The subtle faults of pride, hypocrisy, unkindness, contempt for the poor, idolatry of worldly success, substitution of ambition for the sense of duty as the mainspring of action in life, and so forth were made matter for practical self-examination, and at last Ward found religion directly and exclusively connected with the acquirement of personal holiness." [1] One might almost think that these words had been written of the Bishop himself. Arnold's religion was one of liberalism in dogma and conscientiousness in practice ; but it was the conscientiousness rather than the liberalism which found its way into the character of William Brownlow. Yet there ever remained with him, even when a Bishop, a certain well-marked tolerance which may or may not have been fostered by his early acquaintance with the Rugby spirit.

From Rugby Brownlow passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, 1848. After four years' residence he took his B.A. degree (1852) with mathematical honours (9th senior optime), and three years later his M.A. (1855). Here are two passages in the memoir of his sister which cast some light upon the inner workings of his soul : "At the same time I shrank from supposing that one so pure and innocent as my sister had always appeared to me, could need the same entire change of heart that I felt was necessary for myself" (p. 17). Again, alluding to himself, he writes : "The fact that one so near and dear to her had been growing up by

[1] *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, by Wilfrid Ward, p. 67.

her side all these years, with his heart really alienated from God and Christ, awakened in Melise the consciousness that the gift of grace that she had received was not so universal as in her humility she had supposed it to be" (p. 27). In the same memoir he gives the inner principle of truth which became a passion of his being and prompted him to these self-depreciatory acknowledgements. Referring to a letter of his sister in which she spoke enthusiastically on the "fascinating" subject of balls and dances, in a manner she afterwards regretted, her brother writes: "I would gladly have omitted this letter; but as I am writing the life of a real and not of an ideal person, truth requires that the imperfections as well as the graces of her character should be fairly brought forward" (p. 11).

Whilst he was still at Cambridge two events took place which drew the gaze of England. The year 1850 will ever be remarkable for the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy, by which the full flow of Catholic life was once more turned upon the country; and for the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case, by which it may be said the English Church repudiated the necessity of incorporation with this same Catholic life by baptism. Nothing of Brownlow's views on these matters can be ascertained with certainty. Probably he was plodding patiently at his routine of University work, deep in mathematics in view of his degree. The senseless outburst of anti-popery which culminated in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill would very likely turn his sympathies towards Catholics. His feelings always went out to any one in suffering, but they went out with vehemence towards those under persecution. As he himself relates in his account of his conversion: "The very first thing that very strongly called forth my sympathies towards Catholic truth was the cruel and wicked persecution of Miss Sellon and her devoted

band of sisters at Devonport. The coarse and unmanly abuse in which some of the so-called Evangelical clergy at that time indulged gave me an abhorrence of what is called Protestantism."[1] The Gorham case, so momentous in the history of other souls more advanced than he, left him unshaken in his loyalty to the English Church.

About this time (1854) he took deacon's orders in the Church of England. The conscientiousness and self-consciousness which had been fostered in the atmosphere of Arnold at Rugby, and had perhaps lain dormant for some time, awakened afresh, and almost developed into thoroughgoing Evangelicalism. In his own words: "After I had been about six months a deacon, it pleased God of His infinite mercy to show me that it was vain for me to expect to bring others to Him until I had myself been made to realize my own lost state, and had fled for refuge to that blessed Saviour who 'is come to seek and to save that which was *lost*.' Not that I ever doubted for a moment my need of Christ, or His power and willingness to save me; but it appeared to me that a deeper work of repentance must be wrought in me before I could venture to claim as mine the benefits He had purchased for me on the Cross" (pp. 15, 16). "As my mind was still very much troubled, and I was leaving my curacy, I contemplated retiring for a time from ministerial work until, having been myself taught of God, I should be qualified really to teach others" (p. 21).[2]

Whilst these struggles were going on in his soul the following characteristic incident occurred. We give it in the Bishop's own words: "The present writer's personal acquaintance with Mr. Aitken[3] began in 1854.

[1] *How and Why I became a Catholic.* A Letter to Friends in the Church of England. By W. R. Brownlow, M.A. London: 1864.
[2] *A Short Memoir, ut sup.*
[3] The well-known Robert Aitken.

He had been much stirred by a pamphlet by the Rev. Richard Collins, afterwards Vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds, and he had seen the very remarkable effect of Mr. Aitken's preaching in the congregation of St. James's, Wednesbury. At length, after trying in vain to obtain peace for his own soul through confession to an Anglican clergyman, he determined to pay a visit to Pendeen.[1] The snow was on the ground when, after a walk from Penzance, in the month of January, he found himself at the gate of the churchyard. Before introducing himself to the Vicar he entered the church, . . . and the walls adorned with outline frescoes of sacred subjects impressed him with a sense of reverence and brightness which encouraged him to approach the monastic-looking parsonage. There was no bell or knocker, but his coming had been observed, for a tall figure, in a long cassock with a blue skull-cap, opened the door with the words, 'Come in, my brother.' And the stranger, whose very name was unknown, was made at once at home, and remained four months under that hospitable roof. As I hastened to explain the object of my coming, my host said simply, 'So you found it easier to travel three hundred miles than to go to the Cross of Christ?' . . . Mr. Aitken put into my hands a small figure of a friar kissing the feet of a crucifix, saying, 'This friar commissioned an artist to make him a crucifix; but he said, "You must not make it higher than the feet; I am not worthy to have more." Dear brother, get you to His feet.'"[2] These heart-searchings, due to Brownlow's deep seriousness of soul, passed away, and soon afterwards he took priest's orders in the

[1] Aitken's parish in Cornwall.

[2] *Dublin Review*, October, 1899. Readers may possibly recall the closing words of Aitken's letter to Mrs. Leslie on her conversion: "You will be damned eternally. I remain, yours affectionately, Robert Aitken."

English Church. His gratitude to Aitken never waned, and only two years before his death he wrote a touching account of his former director in the *Dublin Review*. After priesthood he was successively curate of Great Wyrley, Staffordshire ; St. Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, E.C. ; Tetbury, Gloucestershire ; and St. John's, Torquay.

Whilst at Tetbury his deep seriousness and piety were everywhere known. It was remarked that he rarely accepted invitations to the houses of his wealthy parishioners. His charity to the poor was unstinted. There was a poor bedridden girl in the parish whom he sought to help. He set about it in his own practical way. On returning home from his yearly holiday he undertook to teach her straw-plaiting, which he had learned whilst holiday making ! His love of children soon showed itself. He was untiring in his work in the schools. The many gifts of flowers and fruit which he received always found their way to his beloved school children. During his curacy at Tetbury he paid a visit to the Dominican Priory then lately built at Woodchester, about six miles from Tetbury. When his episcopal duties brought him in later years to Woodchester, he spoke feelingly of his first visit as an Anglican, as if in God's providence it had played some part in his conversion.

As early as 1854 his mind began to move in that path which led him after eight years' earnest seeking to the door of the One Fold. But the history of his soul during that time is another disproof of the groundless theory that conversion is chiefly an affair of the emotions, or of an intellect that cannot grasp the feebleness of Roman Catholic claims. When men come into the Truth it is sometimes put down to the influence exercised upon them by a strong personality, such as a Newman, or by the fascination of a strong

organization, such as is the Roman Church. Bishop Brownlow's conversion is another refutation of this groundless postulate. So far from being influenced by any Catholic, it would seem that the only personal influences he ever yielded to were such as held him back from the Church. He fell under the spell of Aitken, though he was too thorough-minded and humble ever to remain long in the religious atmosphere of this self-centred, if ascetic, teacher. He came under the influence of Pusey, Keble, and others; as he writes, "wholly distinct, however, from all theological or historical questions there were two considerations which weighed very much with me, and prevented my really investigating the subject fairly, or coming long ago to the conclusion at which by God's mercy I have now arrived. The first of these was the fact of men like Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and others, far more learned and devoted than myself, being entirely free from the doubts which tormented me."[1] But he overcame this temptation at last, and followed the divine call. Again, like a conscientious shepherd of his flock, he had fallen under the spell of his sheep. "I was convinced I ought to bring matters to a point, and yet dreaded the responsibility of declaring my doubts and resigning my curacy. . . . I could not at that time be sure that my doubts were not temptations; and as long as I continued to minister, I felt bound to treat them as such; this I did up to the very day of my leaving Torquay" (p. 38). This loyalty to his flock was made more urgent by another fact, viz., "the reality of the grace I saw given to the penitent sinners after my own and others' absolutions" (p. 64). But when he recognized that God blesses those who, though not of the Faith, are yet in good faith, he passed over this temptation. No one could have influenced him more on the Catholic side than Newman; and nothing of Newman's

[1] Letter, *ut sup.*, p. 62.

could have influenced him more than *The Development of Christian Doctrine:* yet he writes in 1863, after his conversion, "I have never yet read the work itself" (p. 19).

If Bishop Brownlow was not the man to be unduly influenced by a strong personality, he was even less likely to be led by a striking organization. It was on September 30, 1863, a few weeks before his reception that he wrote to Dr. Newman and stated his wish "to see and hear for myself what Roman Catholics really believed and practised. I had no previous acquaintance with him beyond public report *that he did not attempt to urge people beyond their convictions*, and a letter I had seen of his to a friend" (p. 65). In a letter to the present writer, December 6, 1900, he adds, "I cannot say that I was attracted towards the Church by any manifestation of it that I saw. It was reflection on what the Church ought to be, what it was in ancient times, and then the consideration of how far the living Church could be said to represent that Church." Thus of the nine long years during which he worked out his life's problem, some few weeks were spent in a Catholic atmosphere. From step to step his soul rose by its own efforts and God's grace from a merely ethical Arnoldism, through Evangelicalism to High Churchism, and then to the Truth.

His *Letter to Friends in the English Church* is one of the plainest and most touching contributions to the psychology of conversion which we have ever read. Everywhere the writer shows his passionate love for truth and distrust of self in spiritual matters. At the outset he assures his friends in the English Church that by becoming a Catholic he has not repudiated his Baptism —that he has not deserted the Church of his Baptism— that he has not denied any grace vouchsafed to him in times past. "On the contrary, I can see on looking

back how wonderfully God's grace has striven with me and saved me ! How in spite of my sins it has made me the instrument of imparting grace and truth to others. . . . I can only wonder and adore that persevering love which vouchsafed to grant me grace where I had no right to look for it, even amid the broken cisterns of Anglican rites, . . . but He is still the Great High Priest, 'who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them who are out of the way'" (pp. 9, 10).

From the very outset of his spiritual awakening, it was clear that his whole pursuit of what was good and true would be thorough. He set his heart on laying hold of the truth wherever it might be found and doing the good whatever it might cost. "Like most young clergymen, I learned far more from my flock than I was able to teach them. I speedily discovered that many a poor ignorant Methodist knew more of the things of God, of conversion of heart than I did" (p. 14). Here we come across his mind dwelling on the Evangelical doctrine of conversion of heart which had been implanted, or at least strengthened within him by his four months' residence in Cornwall with Aitken. But the principle of conversion threw him back on the doctrines of grace and of the sacraments ; and as the doctrine of grace practically needed an infallible Church for its full and complete statement, so the sacramental system needed an infallible Church for its due administration and protection. "I can never be sufficiently thankful that at this time," he writes, "when I had no more guide than my own crude ideas of the meaning of the Word of God, I was led by an invisible hand to study the acts of the Council of Trent. Those careful and precise definitions, guarding the true doctrine of grace from the false exaggerations of Luther and Calvin, enabled me to see my way through many a difficulty, and saved me from falling into deadly heresy" (pp. 14, 15).

The mystical side of his nature, which felt the need of union with God, led him to see that "Holy Scripture and the Fathers uniformly teach that the only way to be a saint is to be fed on the Incarnate Word, not by mere mental realization of His person and work, but by a real and substantial union with Himself in the Blessed Sacrament" (p. 16).

An incident occurred which we must not withhold. "But the more convinced I became of the dignity and importance of the Blessed Sacrament the more acutely did I feel the uncertain language about it in the formularies of the Anglican Church, and the greater difficulty had I in believing, as I knew I ought to believe, concerning it. I remember, as distinctly as if it happened yesterday, in the autumn of 1855, I was praying for greater faith in our Lord's presence, and desiring to follow Him whithersoever He goeth; when, in a moment, the Church of Rome was presented to my mind, and Jesus seemed to ask me, 'Wilt thou follow Me thither?' At the same moment all the consequences presented themselves—the loneliness, for I had not then a single Roman Catholic friend, and the severing of all the ties which unconsciously bound me to the religion of my fathers—and I had to confess with shame that I had not counted the cost. From that day until after my reception into the Catholic Church I never had a happy communion" (p. 16).

This is a phenomenon which is not uncommon in the psychology of conversion: the sudden light from heaven, then the dismay and dread at the Divine Presence. Mystical writers warn us away from spiritual favours, whether visions or invisible communications, which begin with spiritual delight. Since the fall man cannot bear to look on God. The Divine Visitor must ever open His communications with the soul of fallen man by the reassuring words, "It is I. Fear ye not;"

for assuredly man will well-nigh swoon in sheer dread of the Divine Majesty. It is, then, a common sign of supernatural as distinct from preternatural favours, that they cast a certain reverential fear upon the soul. Moreover, being true light and not merely a deceptive dazzle, their whole aim is to show things as they are, with all their effects and consequences. When the evil spirit points out a course of action, he tries to hide its baneful outcome, hoping to win us by his present flood of consolation wrought in a perfervid imagination. God does otherwise. He never opens out a path of life to us without pointing out the Calvary over which we must pass. He says, "Take up My Cross," or, "Canst thou drink the chalice," or, "I will show him how great things he must suffer for My Name's sake." He even seems to exaggerate the bitterness of the chalice, and when we are called to drink it, instead of gall and wormwood, it is a "chalice of benediction which we bless . . . the communion of the Blood of Christ."

Another guarantee of divine favours is that they never interfere with the jurisdiction of reason. No course of action is to be set aside merely because of an extra-natural communication. Thus obedience ever remains the guide of the most highly favoured mystics. In the case of Bishop Brownlow, though in point of fact God may well have been the source of this illumination in the autumn of 1855, whilst his servant was in prayer, yet the course of patient research was never abridged for an hour. The only outcome of the unusual occurrence was a still more thorough distrust of self, and a characteristically patient resolve to get to the bottom of the matter. For eight long years Bishop Brownlow's studious, thoughtful, and unbiassed mind worked out the difficult and momentous problem, verifying every step in the process, checking and counter-checking the various conclusions, making allowance for the disturbing

element of self with its sensitiveness to loss and pain, to prejudice and tradition, until at length the answer was wrought out and the Faith came as a crown of Reason.

He describes his state of mind with touching simplicity and force. "Interior calls often prove deceptive, because we know so little how to distinguish the true voice of the Holy Spirit from the whispers of false spirits, or the cravings of our own human spirit. It is often insinuated, by way of accounting for the fact of so many earnest-minded persons joining the Roman Catholic Communion that the personal sacrifices which it usually involves are the very inducements to an enthusiastic mind to assume that the step is one to which God has called him. There is some truth in this insinuation, and I can only say for myself that *I was alive to this possibility from the very first.* . . . Logical arguments or even historical evidence I should have probably put aside as unspiritual and carnal reasoning. And God knew the surest way of reaching my heart. However, having no fixed external test by which to try the spirit whether it was of God, I thought on reflection that it might be either a temptation or else only a test of my sincerity ; and the only effect was to make me throw myself more fully into my work and by giving up the use of some devotional books, such as *Memoriale Vitæ Sacerdotalis*, which, being by Roman Catholic authors, I imagined might have indirectly influenced me—I hoped to get rid of all disquieting thoughts" (p. 17). It is noteworthy that on the way to Faith the human mind must not merely employ reason, but seem to despise it. Most of us have read Newman's almost fierce denunciation of logic, and have delighted in his consummate display of it. So, too, St. Paul says bluntly of science, "Science puffs out." Yet he was reproached with the fact that "much learning had made him mad." So, too, it is somewhat amusing

to remark the Bishop's mild anathemata against historical research. To hear him you would think that he would rather lose his right hand than pore over ecclesiastical history, and would seek God before the Tabernacle rather than in the library. Yet it is instructive to learn that he went on to work out the historical argument for the Church for eight years, and even wrote an *Early History of the Church of God*[1] to help on the argument. But it is the very power of strong thinkers not merely to use arguments but to weigh them; not merely to understand them but to master them.

However, the question of Rome would keep coming up. The Blessed Sacrament was such a priceless boon to men that it needed something better than the careless guardianship of the ambiguous Anglican formularies. The Real Presence was too great a treasure to be entrusted to anything but Truth; and Truth viewed as a theological charisma is called Infallibility. Thus the Tabernacle in the village chapel sent him forward to the See in the world-wide Church. Before him lay the heart of the question, "Is the Church infallible? And if so, must it not be the Church in communion with St. Peter's See, since it alone claims infallibility?" Then came the tedious search for some false doctrine which this Church had put forth, and by which it might be proved that Rome was not infallible. Preference was given to the question of Papal Supremacy "which," in the Bishop's own words, "appeared to me at once the most important and the easiest to investigate. . . . In vain I laboured at the hopeless task. The Fathers seemed all to speak of the Apostolic See in terms which they never applied to any other See in Christendom" (p. 22). "My entire failure thus to convict the Church

[1] Recently re-issued by the Catholic Truth Society in a revised form.

of Rome of positive error on the matter of Supremacy made me fear that upon other points on which I had been taught to regard her as wrong, I might also be mistaken. . . . Still, I saw men wiser and better than myself in every way seemingly satisfied with their position,[1] and I resolved to leave no stone unturned to obtain their calm contentment with the Church of my youth, and of which I was a minister. *Often for months together I never opened a book in which the Roman Catholic question was discussed or hinted at.* I hoped prayer and study of scripture, with the intensely engrossing work of attending to the souls of others would in time lead me to some satisfactory solution of the question. I thought of the desolation and perplexity into which so many earnest and true-hearted persons who had trusted me fully would be plunged were I even to hint that I had any doubts; *and I was even presumptuous enough to say that I would not purchase my salvation at the risk of upsetting their faith*" (p. 30). It was the old tragedy of man fleeing from his God down the labyrinthine ways of his own soul. But it was the tragedy heightened by a living sensitiveness to something more than the mere cast and fall of the argument. Underneath the serene exterior of the man lay a heart all fire and sympathy for those weak brethren to whom his very venture of faith might prove a temptation to unbelief.

Many weary steps had still to be taken before the end came. But it came at last after eight years of continuous prayer, self-sacrifice, and work. On a fly-leaf fastened into the Bishop's own copy of the *Letter* from which I have been transcribing, and opposite page 38, there is a pen-and-ink note in his own minute yet legible handwriting: "On September 30th I wrote first

[1] His mind was naturally very loyal both to Church and king—but to a national king and an international or Catholic Church.

to Dr. Newman. On October 4th communicated for the last time in the Church of England. On October 5th received an answer from Dr. Newman. On October 10th left home for Brighton, where I stayed until I went to Birmingham. I went to Mass first on October 20th in the chapel at North Street, and preached for the last time in an Anglican Church on October 23rd, and on October 30th at A. Wagner's Broad Street Chapel. I reached the Oratory, Birmingham, on November 10th, and was received into the Church on November 15, 1863. Deo gratias!" Looking back upon this step in the closing years of his life he was able to write: "It was history more than anything else that brought me into the Church; and among Christian writers, St. Irenæus and St. Vincent of Lerins influenced me more than any others. Then the history of the English Reformation—the violent break of continuity under Elizabeth, etc.; the utter inability of the Anglican bishops to defend any Catholic doctrine: Baptism, the Holy Eucharist, Absolution, Inspiration of Scripture, and the Eternity of Heaven and Hell—all this traceable to the surrender to the Crown of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and contrasted with the attitude and action of the Pope in every page of the history of the past eighteen hundred years. Evils, scandals, abuse of power, and all these sort of things did not affect me in the least, but rather showed that the institution that could survive all these abuses must be divine."[1]

After his reception a few months were spent in England, and in the April of 1864 Mr. Brownlow proceeded to Rome, to make his theological studies at the Collegio Pio. One can hardly analyze his feelings as he first trod the streets of the Eternal City. It was but a few years since he had set himself the fruitless task of

[1] *Roads to Rome.* Longmans.

bringing home to himself the fact of her pride and usurpation. History, to which he had appealed, had overthrown him ; and his love of truth had led him to disown as calumnies the charges which he sought to justify as facts. He felt the inner force of the baffled persecutors' dying words, "*Galilee, vicisti*" ("Galilean, thou hast conquered") ; but with that whole-heartedness which strongly marked his character he determined that the victory should be complete, by drinking to the full of that imperial, world-wide, divine Spirit which had overthrown him. For the next three years he lived in the shadow of St. Peter's.

To live in Rome is to come under a thousand varied influences. Bishop Brownlow was one of those cultured minds who could not merely yield to the broad irresistible flood of Roman influence, but could isolate and appreciate the thousand feeding-streams that make up the subtle spell of the Eternal City. By education a scholar, he could appreciate classical Rome -Rome of the Forum, the Circus Maximus, the Amphitheatre—Rome, the last stronghold of the classical idea which still holds sway over so many gifted souls. Still more as an historian and an ecclesiastical archæologist could he appreciate mediæval and apostolic Rome ; —Rome of the Catacombs, of the martyrs, rich with memories that almost drowned the echoes of classical Rome. Most of all, as a Catholic and as a convert who had bought the freedom of the city, like Claudius Lysias, "with a great sum," could he appreciate religious Rome—Rome the heart of a great world-wide commonwealth, the inheritor of ten thousand spiritual traditions, the dwelling-place of holy men and women, the mid-point and meeting-place of all peoples and tongues, the teeming headquarters of those great monastic bodies, the Church's legions, whose unworldly way of living and mediæval dress took him through ages of heroic deeds to men

of renown, now at length something more to him than mere names — Alphonsus, Philip, Ignatius, Francis, Dominic, Bernard, Benedict, Augustine.

The student of the Collegio Pio had been only a few months in Rome when he was brought in contact with a friar of one of these Orders, who made a lasting impression on his soul. Writing of the late Father Thomas Burke, he says, "My recollections of Father Burke date from October, 1864, when he gave a retreat of ten days to the students of the English College. I had never heard him before, and my first impressions of him were formed from his spiritual side. I have got the notes of that retreat now. . . . Some thought his ideal of the life of a priest too highly pitched, but it was what he had set before himself, and he could hold up no lower model to those whom he directed either in his retreat addresses or in more personal words which fell from him in the confessional. . . . He used to come up to my room, and this was the beginning of our friendship. My attraction for him needs no explanation; but I suppose my being a convert and being able to tell him many things about English Protestant life and modes of thought interested him, and I always found a warm welcome at San Clemente."[1] Into Father Burke's hands he made his profession as a brother of the Third Order of St. Dominic. The high ideal set before him in his first retreat became a rule of his future life. No doubt the humble "Prince of Preachers" had deepened his strong leanings towards humility. A nun who knew the Bishop well in after years, writes, "He preached for twenty-one years, and his sermons were solidly good and learned. He once said to me, 'I say what I feel inspired to say; the rest I leave to God. I do not trouble myself what others may think of it.' . . . He would never have a pulpit, as he wished to imitate St.

[1] *Life of Father Thomas Burke*, by W. J. Fitzpatrick, i. p. 258.

Dominic. . . . He loved and preached Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Calvary, the Acts of the Apostles, and the lives of the Saints." Another bond of union between himself and Father Burke was their common love of fun. Perhaps this will strike some of those who knew the Bishop as a strange feature in his character. Naturally he was gifted with a keen sense of humour, which, no doubt, helped him out of the English Church into the Truth. As a Bishop he wrote, "Though I do not understand music, it always interests and pleases, though I must confess to a weakness for comic songs if they are not vulgar."

He received the tonsure and minor orders on February 3, 1865 ; the subdiaconate in April, 1865, from Mgr. Castelacci ; the diaconate later on in 1865 ; and the priesthood on December 22, 1866, from Cardinal Patrizzi, Vicar-General of Rome. There were no lingering difficulties with regard to the orders which he had received whilst an Anglican. His logical mind had set the matter in its true light. In his farewell letter he had written, "I never could understand how the validity of Anglican Orders in any way affected the question. I am not aware that the Arians, Nestorians, and Donatists, or any other schismatical body in ancient times ever appealed to their undoubted possession of a Valid Succession. Had I possessed the most infallible certainty about the validity of my own priesthood, I should have felt bound to take the step which I have taken just the same" (p. 59). In the lectures on Reunion which he delivered as Bishop, he put the matter in the way he habitually looked at it. "For the last thirty years I have considered it all but impossible to convince an Anglican that Anglican Orders are invalid. At the same time nothing but a positive decree of the Pope would ever induce English Catholics to believe in their validity. Anglicans profess to be shocked at what they

consider the sacrilege committed when an Anglican clergyman is ordained by a Catholic bishop without any sign of its being conditional. But Catholics would be infinitely more shocked if they were required to believe that Anglican clergymen were true priests, and have been so for the last three hundred years, notwithstanding their own repeated repudiation of all sacerdotal power, and the frightful sacrileges that would have been committed had they really consecrated the bread and the wine into the true Body and Blood of Christ.[1]

Though he had not the advantage of a prolonged theological course, the Bishop's studious habits supplied for this want. He was an earnest student of the *Summa*. The present writer remembers when the Bishop's opinion on an obscure point of St. Thomas turned out to be right, in spite of its being rejected by certain professed students of the *Summa*.

It was in 1864 that the monumental work of Commendatore De Rossi (*La Roma Sotteranea Cristiana*) made its first appearance and took the antiquarian world by surprise. The labours of the indefatigable antiquarian were like the discovery of a new subterranean continent. Bishop Brownlow threw himself heart and soul into the study of the all-absorbing subject with all the patience of his character. His deep and accurate knowledge of patristic times, gave him great help in his studies. It was characteristic of him, however, that whatever he took up was directed in some way to the spread of God's truth. His studies of the world of the Catacombs were no mere intellectual pastime. They were a duty rather than a recreation. Bishop Brownlow would undertake nothing that had not an end in view. Even these explorations of the

[1] *The Reunion of England with Rome.* By the Bishop of Clifton. C.T.S., p. 12.

monuments of the Church's infancy were all eagerly mastered for traces of that Catholic Truth which he had made it his high ideal to foster and spread. *Roma Sotterranea*, which he published in conjunction with Dr. Northcote in 1869, showed him to be a high authority on Roman archæology, who could win recognition even in Rome itself.

On his return to England we find him assisting at the throne in Plymouth Cathedral on Palm Sunday. On June 1st he received faculties for the mission at the Cathedral, but soon after he was appointed to St. Mary Church, Torquay, where he arrived on June 10th; and on September 6, 1867, he became Chaplain to the Dominican Convent of nuns. Here the greater part of his Catholic life was passed; as it was only after twenty-one years spent at Torquay that he was transferred to Plymouth. Those who came in daily contact with him at that time grew to understand and value the sterlingness and simplicity of his soul. Later on, when consecrated Bishop, he chose as his motto, *Malo esse quam videri* ("I had rather be than seem"). There was little love of appearance in him. His humility was so deep and so deeply hidden that men did not always suspect it. He was always gentle and gentlemanly. His regard for the rules of the Convent led him to be almost reserved with the community; but they knew how genuine and fatherly was his interest in all their works. Here, as elsewhere, his charities were suspected rather than known; they will never be known till the Master, in whose name he gave them and kept them secret, may choose to reveal them. The orphanage kept by the nuns had a special part in his affections. God had given him that common priestly and Christ-like trait of love of little children: he would sometimes be seen placidly nursing the "dolly" of some of his little ones. On Christmas Day

he took his dinner at their table, and most of the afternoon was spent in play with them. The practice became a rule. Two or three times a year he had his "penny Sundays" as he called them, when each child received a penny, the elders twopence. At Christmas time he obtained a magic lantern and gave them two entertainments. There was a middle class school for girls; but it was on their poorer sisters in the orphanage that he showered the greatest of his favours. "What he once began he never left off"—so a nun writes, with an insight into the consistency of his character. Here are some simple words from one who knew him many years: "He had great devotion for the sick, and would visit them very often, and would watch alone beside their beds for us to go to Chapter. As long as he was with us, he gave to the orphanage his Christmas and Easter offerings, and sank £1,000 for it, called St. Boniface's Fund. Every year he gave them a retreat. . . . He took the greatest interest in St. Catharine's workroom, which was begun to teach the elder girls to sew well and take in good work. We made several of his cassocks, and he was so proud of what his dear orphans could do. Once when repairing one for him, there was a mistake which cost him a great deal; for that he paid us double price. He did much for his parish, and gave more than any one on earth will ever know. *If things went well, he gave us the due; if ill, he took it to himself.* He has said to me, 'If I were a better man, my people would be better.'"

It seems to have been a trial to him in later life as a Bishop when his children were taken away from him. The following lines from a letter may seem trivial to some; but to others will appear redolent of that child-like spirit which is the atmosphere of Heaven. A lady had playfully sent the Bishop a present of sweets, and received the following courteous acknowledgement:

"My dear child, many thanks for your nice bon-bons. I used to consume a great quantity of them when I was at St. Mary Church, and had a crowd of children coming to see me; but children never come to see me now. Perhaps they do not know that I keep sweets." Another letter written as Bishop to a nun gives an insight in the principles which ruled him in his long-suffering towards others. "Many thanks . . . for letting me see this nice letter from B——. I always liked that girl, and her gratitude is constant and genuine for all that was done for her in the Orphanage. So, no doubt, is the case with many more, though they do not express themselves as well as she does. I used to tell you that you must not expect them to show gratitude now. It is only when they grow up and reflect that it occurs to them to think of the kindness they have received. It is so with ourselves. We murmur and complain instead of thanking our good God for all He is every day doing for us. One day we shall wake up and understand it all, and then we shall be able to praise Him as we ought."

The following dates speak clearly of the confidence which he soon won: Aug. 31, 1878, Canon of the Plymouth Chapter: June 24, 1888, Canon Penitentiary (appointed by Leo XIII. Vicar-General): July, 1888, transferred from Torquay to Plymouth Cathedral: March, 1893, Provost of Cathedral Chapter; Domestic Prelate: May 1, 1894, consecrated Bishop of Clifton in Pro-Cathedral, Clifton.

Those who knew the scholarly bent of his mind can realize how utterly foreign to his wishes it was to be called upon to rule. His hand more easily wielded the pen than the crozier. To set him at the head of a diocese was to place his student's eyes in a fierce light which only inflicted keen suffering. He never sought for honours, nor could he avoid them. They

were certain to come, and equally certain to tear him from almost every human joy which his mind naturally sought after. But it was always his way to go with God's will and never to thwart it. His life-long work was to carry out the call of duty. Providence had not gifted him lavishly with those graces and manners which recommend a man at first sight. A certain shyness with strangers, which sometimes verged on stiffness, prevented many from being at once on easy terms with him. In the Memoir of his sister he has unconsciously given us the clue to this feature of his character. He speaks of her as "loving her home and all its inmates with a deep affection which shrank from expressing itself lest it should offend." But that he was a friend indeed is the witness of many souls whom he helped with hand and heart. God will one day make known the Bishop's claim to a share in that proudest title of a true priest—*Refugium peccatorum*. Souls whom many experienced priests would have considered worthless found a father's heart—sometimes a father's purse—with the good Bishop. The most difficult cases of relapse and apostasy made no difference to his untiring patience. He was a mirror of God "who maketh His sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust" (Matt. v. 45). No effort was too much to make for souls in danger, and every one, whether rich or poor, just or unjust, man or child, had a soul for him. He spent himself for them in hours of correspondence which he stole from other more congenial work. He was eminently a letter-writer. His sound sense in supernatural affairs found expression in terse English. His forcibleness could easily change to tenderness, though he was always tender even in his most resolute guidance of souls. A collection of his letters would throw much light on his soul. The following short

extracts from a series of letters may serve to whet the reader's appetite :

"My dear child, you are not called to be a monk or nun like Thomas à Kempis, and so you must read him with certain modifications according to your state of life, and do not be miserable because you have not got wings and cannot fly. If you love God with all your heart you will love others in Him, and for Him, and then all their defects and shortcomings will not lessen your love for them. If we were all perfect I suppose the world would come to an end—and what a blessed end it would be ! But I fear that is not likely to be the end of it."

The following shows another habitual thought of his soul : "I am always sorry for converts who air their grievances in newspapers, as it does not really do them any good. Of course they have much to put up with ; but from the letters in the *Catholic Times* it seems to be a good deal their own fault, though that does not make it any the less unpleasant for them. If we could only realize how unworthy we are of the least of God's mercies, we should be grateful for what we have without grumbling."

A more tender note runs through the following : "My dear child, a mother's death is indeed a loss which can never be supplied, at least in this life. I remember when I lost my own mother. How bitterly I regretted all the ways in which I had caused her sorrow, and how vividly I recalled all the instances of her loving care for me. You must be now feeling stunned under the blow which has come upon you. . . . You must ask our Blessed Lady to be a mother to you now. The Church, though world wide, has a special place for you if you could only find it and not knock your head against the corners of rough stonework of which she is partly built up."

The social side of his episcopal duties was not neglected. After his death, the Bristol non-Catholic Press witnessed to his zeal for public good. Speaking of his work, the *Bristol Daily Mercury* said : "During the seven years of his Episcopate, Dr. Brownlow . . . found time to take an active part in many movements that had for their object the welfare of the citizens ; indeed from the first he showed a public spirit which was alike admirable and exemplary. He was ever ready to render all possible help to local medical and charitable institutions and philanthropic work generally. . . . He was a keen supporter of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to the value of whose operations in Bristol he frequently paid tributes in terms of warm appreciation. At public meetings of citizens he was always a welcome speaker, and amongst his more recent appearances on the platform may be mentioned the town's meeting to provide a memorial of the late Rev. Urijah R. Thomas."

But his interests were primarily spiritual. He took every means to spread the Kingdom of God. When the ecclesiastical world was moved in 1895, 1896, 1897, with the question of Reunion and Anglican Orders, no one took a deeper interest in the matter than the Bishop. In 1896, at the Bristol meeting of the English Church Union, Lord Halifax, President of the Union, delivered an address on Reunion, which drew the Bishop to make a reply in three lectures. The Bishop's words are models of temperate, manly, and charitable speech. In his first lecture, which he happily entitled "Reunion greatly to be desired," he speaks of Lord Halifax as one who "has been from his youth upwards noted for his earnest piety and practical self-devotion to the poor. Probably there is no devoted Brother of St. Vincent de Paul who has spent more personal labour in serving the sick and the dying in the most repulsive

haunts of poverty and disease than this grand specimen of an English nobleman." He quotes largely from the "heart-stirring words" of Lord Halifax. Later on in the lecture he quotes Cardinal Wiseman's letter written to Lord Shrewsbury in 1841. "If one *must* err, if in mere tribute to humanity one must needs make a false step, one's fall will be more easy when on the side of two theological virtues." He then goes on to say in his own person, "It is sometimes said that Cardinal Wiseman took too sanguine a view of the Tractarians, and of the converts that his sympathy did so much to bring into the Church. All I can say is that I wish with all my heart that we had more of his wide and generous sympathy now." Later comes a noble passage, which those who knew the Bishop best will forbear to think an exaggeration. "Of one thing our Anglican friends may be assured. No jealousy or selfish feeling of personal dignity on the part of the Catholic Hierarchy will ever stand in the way of Reunion. Speaking for myself, I can say from my heart that I should be too thankful to petition the Holy Father for permission to resign my see, to take down my canopy and throne from the Pro-Cathedral, and to lay my episcopal crozier at the feet of a Catholic Bishop of Bristol." The next two lectures dealt with the subjects "How England fell into Schism—How England fell into Heresy."

But the Bishop knew how to defend as well as to attract. In 1897 the Right Rev. George Forrest Browne was appointed by the Queen Bishop of the newly-formed Bishopric of Bristol. He claimed to take his "Bishop's seat amongst" them "as the only person competent to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, to perform episcopal functions, in the city of Bristol and in the deaneries of North Wilts in accordance with the principles of the Holy Catholic Church and the immemorial constitution of this realm." It was a direct challenge

to the Catholic Bishop of Clifton, which Bishop Brownlow felt obliged to take up. His reply[1] is thorough. Not one word of irritation ever escapes him; he is too earnest to lose his temper But he proves that, whereas his own right to rule in Bristol is derived from Pope Leo XIII. and hence from St. Peter, Dr. Browne's jurisdiction is derived solely from the Royal Letters Patent of the Queen. It was felt that Dr. Browne had been ill-advised to challenge such a veteran historian as Dr. Brownlow. In 1898 the Nonconformist members of this episcopal city were considered in a series of five dialogues, entitled *Catholics and Nonconformists*. The basis of the dialogues is the Wesleyan view of Conversion. It is striking that the Bishop's early years should have fitted him especially to deal sympathetically with the subject of the soul's change to righteousness. It would be hard to find a book more suited to nonconformist inquirers; from first to last the writer never employs a word calculated to wound, though every phrase is a dexterous employment of Scripture and Reason. His excellent lectures on *Sacerdotalism*, especially the last series on *Sacerdotalism and the Conscience*, deserve wide circulation. The last few months of his life he employed in re-editing his *Early History of the Church of God*.[2]

It must not be supposed that the Bishop neglected his own flock to look after those who were not of the fold. Catholic interests all over the diocese were his first care. The progress in church buildings and in

[1] *Episcopal Jurisdiction in Bristol*, C.P., 1d.

[2] All the above-mentioned pamphlets were published by and may be obtained from the Catholic Truth Society, of which the Bishop was, from its re-establishment in 1884, a cordial supporter by his pen, his counsel, and his presence at the Annual Conferences. The Bishop also wrote *Sir James Marshall* (Burns and Oates), *Slavery and Serfdom in Europe* (first published in the *Month* from January, 1890 May, 1891), and a *Memoir of Mother Mary Rose Columba Adams, O.S.D.* (Burns and Oates).

organization since his consecration marks the thoroughness of his episcopal toils. His counsel and his purse were equally at the service of his brethren.

His alms-deeds rather increased than slackened when he found himself at the head of a diocese. None of his habitual works of charity were neglected. Thus in the year of his priesthood he began to give assistance to some Dominican nuns who had been turned from their cloister at Perugia. From that year till his death it is believed that he gave them all the offerings made to him for Masses.

The Bishop's health had never been robust. In January, 1901, when presiding at a meeting of the Pro-Cathedral Chapter, he fell fainting with a seizure of the heart. Towards the end of October, whilst suffering from a bad cold, he attended a meeting of the Catholic Bishops in London, at which the question of Education was discussed and the Bishops' Manifesto drafted. He ought not to have left Bristol. He came back with death upon him, brought about by devotion to duty and to the little ones of Christ whom he had always loved. He returned to Clifton on November 5th and took to his sick-room, which he never left alive.

On Friday, November 8th, the Bishop was seen to be sinking, and was urged to prepare for the last sacraments. Father Troake assisted him to vest in rochet, mozetta, and stole. He apologized with his accustomed humility for the trouble he was giving. Monsignor Russell, V.G., the Pro-Cathedral Administrator, attended by Father Williams, Father Troake, and Father Mather brought the Blessed Sacrament to him. The solemn act of Faith was read to the dying prelate. Then having assented to all contained in the act of Faith on the Holy Gospels, his old zeal for the gift of faith seemed to put new life into his dying frame. He roused himself and said that on

the 15th of November, thirty-eight years ago, he had made that Profession of Faith for the first time on being taken into the Catholic Church. Ever since then he had held to each and every article with unswerving fidelity. Difficulties had risen before his mind, but only difficulties attributable to his having been brought up in heresy. Never had he for one moment wilfully entertained a doubt, but in all things had ever submitted to the unerring judgment of Christ's Church and of His Vicar. He now reasserted his belief therein and firmly renewed his loyalty to the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII. The Bishop then went on to recall with edifying humility what he felt to be his shortcomings in the exercise of his sacred office. He asked pardon of all those to whom he might at any time have appeared wanting in charity. He thanked the clergy for their presence and their kind prayers, and begged the suffrage of them and their flocks and the entire diocese after his death. The Holy Viaticum was given him, and he gave those present his blessing. Then the clergy withdrew. Though suffering repeated attacks of the heart, he contrived to finish the Divine Office, closing his Breviary for the last time only when he had said Compline.

The next day, though the attacks were frequent and severe, the Bishop talked over the affairs of the diocese with the Vicar-General, Mgr. Russell. Shortly after three in the afternoon His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII., sent him the Papal Blessing. It seemed as if he was waiting for that last token of Faith, and last seal of his loyalty to the Church. At 3.25, whilst prayers were going up for his recovery from friends in the Cathedral, the soul of the fourth Bishop of Clifton passed away.

In his will, dated July 20, 1894, soon after his consecration, they found the following touching profession of faith :—

"In the Name of God, Amen. . . . . I renew the profession of my unswerving faith in each and all of the doctrines taught by the Holy Roman Catholic Church, into whose bosom I have by the grace of God been brought, and in whose Communion I hope to die, and I hereby beforehand retract, renounce, detest, and anathematize any words or expressions that may have been spoken by me in the least degree contrary to the teaching of the same Holy Roman Catholic Church. I commend my soul into the hands of God, my Creator and Redeemer, to the protection and patronage of Mary, the Immaculate Mother of God, of St. Joseph and St. Bernard, and all the Saints, and to the pious prayers and suffrages of the faithful. I desire that my body may be buried in some place where Catholics have been buried before, as my executors shall think fit, and that my funeral may be conducted with all the simplicity possible, consistent with the due performance of the rites of the Holy Catholic Church."

On Thursday morning the Pontifical High Mass of Requiem was sung by the Right Rev. C. Graham, Bishop of Cisamus, Co-adjutor of Plymouth, an old and valued friend of Dr. Brownlow. The sermon was preached by Bishop Hedley, O.S.B. (Newport). The Absolutions were given by the celebrant, Bishops Hedley, Ilsley (Birmingham), Cahill (Portsmouth), and the Abbot of Downside (Ford). On the way to the cemetery the streets were lined with crowds of reverent onlookers. At a point of the route the procession was met by the Catholic children of the town. The Bishop would have wished them to be there.

With his accustomed humility and thoughtfulness, the Bishop had expressed no wish about the place where his body should be laid, save that it should be "in some place where Catholics have been buried before." Even in death he would not give the shadow of trouble.

But his executors divined his wish. He was borne to the common burying-place of his people. He lies at Arno's Vale ; the first Bishop of Clifton to rest amongst his faithful Catholic flock, whom he loved so truly in life and death.

Many years before, in the Memoir he wrote of his sister, he had expressed his views of death in touching words : "We must all pass through the same dark valley, and when we see how its terrors are removed by the Presence of Him who hath overcome Death, we are encouraged the more earnestly to divest ourselves of all that hinders that intimate union with Him which alone can enable us to triumph over 'the last enemy.' There is also another reason why the deathbeds of Christians are so full of instruction. The Christian 'is dead and his life is hid with Christ in God ;' his virtues will not appear in their true glory until Christ, Who is his Life, shall appear, but even now he bears about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus that the Life also of Jesus might be made manifest in his mortal flesh ; and hence it is that as the outward man perisheth, the inner man begins to shine forth through the veil of flesh with the glorious beauty of the resurrection life of Christ. Virtues once hidden in humility now appear uncorrupted by that which is fast crushing for ever the fairest qualities of nature ; Faith anticipates its expansion into sight, Hope brightens into certainty, and Charity glows with a burning fire that mocks the icy hand of Death."

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

BY

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THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J.

I. —Life in the Society of Jesus.

Whoever enters the Society of Jesus, or any other Religious Order, does so of his own free will. There is no conscription, we are all volunteers. The intending novice of the Society is examined by four priests appointed for the purpose. They report separately to the Provincial, whose approval is necessary for his admission. The usual age of admission is from about eighteen to twenty-five. Some are admitted as laybrothers. They are put through no course of studies, and are entirely employed in domestic duties. But they are not servants; they are religious equally with the rest, and wear the religious habit. The proportion of laybrothers to other members of the Society in 1901 was about 26 per cent. In England and Scotland it is somewhat less. The laybrothers, notwithstanding their name, do not wander about in lay society, but live in the religious house with the rest of their brethren—they are only called "laybrothers" because they will never be priests. In the Society of Jesus their official name is Temporal Coadjutors. A person admitted to the Society to study for the priesthood is called a Scholastic Novice. The noviceship lasts two years. When the two years are over, he becomes a Scholastic, and is known as such up to the date of his ordination to the priesthood. Thus, in a large house of the Society there are priests (or Fathers), scholastics, and laybrothers. It is a mistake to call all who are not priests "novices." The novices are not scattered through the various houses, but are all kept together in one house, under a superior called the Master of Novices. The house is called the Novitiate. The Novitiate for England and Scotland is Manresa House, Roehampton, S.W. Little or no study is done in the Novitiate. The rules of the Society are explained to the novices. Their obedience and humility is tested by the performance of menial offices in the house, and manual labour in the garden. They are encouraged to

put every confidence in their Master, to tell him of their difficulties and dislikes.

He studies them individually, and advises them to leave or continue in the Society. But they are free to leave at any time, even against his advice; as the Society also is free to dismiss them, even against their will. Every care is taken not to admit to their vows either the unfit or the unwilling. Nor is there any attempt to put old heads on young shoulders. The novices are allowed reasonable recreation and exercise, and are well fed. They are made to perform the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius in full. This is called the Long Retreat, and lasts a month. When the two years are elapsed, the novice, who is satisfied with the Society, and with whom the Society is satisfied, is admitted to his simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The first vow binds him to have nothing of his own, and only to use things with the explicit or tacit permission of his Superior. Thus one who has taken the vow of poverty can have neither money, food, nor clothes, except what his Superior allows him. At the same time his Superior is bound in justice to supply him with all bodily necessaries and decencies according to his state, and would speedily be removed from office if he failed in this duty. The practical effect of the vow of poverty is that the religious has not money about him to spend as he pleases. In taking the vow of chastity, the novice engages not to marry, and to observe in all things what Catholics call the sixth, and Protestants the seventh commandment. The vow of obedience binds one to do what the Superior commands according to the rule and custom of the Order, yet so that nothing ever be commanded that is sinful, contrary to the law of God, or the just law of the State. Thus no vow of obedience can ever bind anyone to steal a sixpence, to tell even a small lie, to plot against the Civil Government, or to smuggle contraband goods, such as spirits and tobacco, into the country without paying duty. If a Government were absolutely to forbid the importation of breviaries and crucifixes, or the landing of missionaries, a religious might be commanded to contravene that prohibition, for the law would not be just—the Church would consider it beyond the competence of the civil legislator. Happily such laws are not now made in England, but they were made 250 years ago, and then Jesuits broke them with a good conscience.

By these simple vows the Scholastic is tied to the Society, so that he cannot now go away without a dispensation. The power of dispensation, or even of dismissal, rests with the chief Superior of the Society, called the General. A Scholastic is not dismissed except for gross misconduct, or faults of character such as to disqualify him for the Society. If he and his Superiors otherwise think that he is not in the right place, a dispensation from his vows is granted. Illness does not involve dismissal, unless the invalid himself wishes it. Practically, a Scholastic is never retained against his own fixed will.

After the vows, the noviceship being now ended, the Scholastic goes through two years study of literature and elementary mathematics. At this time, if possible, the Society affords him the benefit of some University training. The Society has a liking for Universities. Its first ten members were Masters of Arts in the University of Paris. In England the Society held by the London University for many years; it now sends its best students to Oxford. After literary studies, come three years of philosophy, diversified by mathematics and physical science. The house of philosophy in England is St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, near Blackburn. There are 53 students of philosophy in the house at present, all Scholastics of the Society of Jesus. When they leave this house, they are sent to teach boys at some of the schools or "colleges" of the Society. There are seven such schools in England and Scotland: they are Stonyhurst, near Blackburn; Mount St. Mary's, near Chesterfield; Beaumont, near Windsor. These three are boarding schools: also the following day schools: St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool; Wimbledon College, Wimbledon; St. Ignatius', Stamford Hill, North London; St. Aloysius', Garnet hill, Glasgow. A Scholastic who does well as a teacher will be kept at the work for six or seven years. Then he goes to commence his course of four years theology. At the end of the third year he is ordained priest, at which time he may be about thirty-four years of age. At the end of each year of philosophy and theology an oral examination is held of half an hour or an hour, and finally of two hours. These examinations are of increasing difficulty. Failure in any of them involves removal from or abridgement of the course of studies, as also inability to hold the offices of Provincial, General, or Lecturer in philosophy or theology. The house of theology for this

country is St. Beuno's College, near St. Asaph, which contains at present 44 students. When the studies are at length over, the young priest is sent to what is called the "tertianship," namely, to spend a third year in the exercises in which he was engaged as a novice. This is intended to counteract any loss of religious spirit which he may have contracted in the ardour of study. When that is over, he makes what is known as his "Last Vows," or "Solemn Vows of Profession." These vows are in matter the same as before, poverty, chastity, and obedience, along with a fourth vow to go anywhere at the Pope's bidding, even though His Holiness does not provide travelling expenses. These vows are called "solemn" because they are less easily dispensed from than "simple vows." A "Professed Father" cannot be dismissed from the Society except for the gravest cause, and by authority of the Holy See. Those who have taken their Last Vows are employed either on home missions (in which case their work is not unlike that of the secular clergy in England and Scotland), or on foreign missions, or in teaching in the Society's schools, or in government. The cardinal point in this final phase of life is that the subject may be sent to live in any house of the Society within the "Province" at the discretion of the "Provincial." Higher Superiors excepted, a Jesuit has no fixity of tenure.

It may as well be remarked that there are no "crypto-Jesuits," no "Jesuits in plain clothes," or "Jesuits in disguise." A Jesuit house is known all over the town, and Jesuits all live in their own houses, unless the Government shuts up the house and disperses the inmates. A Jesuit never goes in disguise, except in countries where he is threatened with the gallows or imprisonment, if recognised; in that case he is fain to imitate the persecuted Saints of old, of whom St. Paul says "*They walked about in sheepskins.*" (Heb. xi. 37). Out of doors a Jesuit priest or scholastic in this country is dressed like a secular priest; a laybrother in the same way but without the Roman collar. Indoors the priests and scholastics wear a gown with wings; the laybrothers, a similar gown without wings. There are no female Jesuits anywhere. There is no affiliation to the Society except in this sense, that sometimes a person is given a special participation in the prayers of the Society, without being a member or living in its houses, or being subject to its control. Every Jesuit is of course a Catholic. All authority within the

Society is derived from the Pope. A Pope approved the Society in 1540: a Pope suppressed it in 1773: another Pope restored it in 1814. Secular priests and Jesuits say Mass at the same altar, and preach the same faith.

II.—Government of the Society.

The supreme authority in the Society of Jesus is the General Congregation. That alone can make laws. There are, however, fundamental points which the Congregation cannot alter, but only the Pope. The General Congregation does not sit permanently. It meets for the election of the General, and may meet at certain other times, as presently to be explained. In practice, the Society is not ruled by Congregations, or Committees, but by individuals. The supreme individual ruler is the General, who is elected for life, and resides ordinarily in Rome. The present General is the Very Rev. Louis Martin, a Spaniard, elected in 1892. Resident with the General is a Council of five Assistants, also elected by the General Congregation. They are his advisers, but not his colleagues. The General governs by his own sole authority. He appoints the Superiors of Provinces and of Colleges, and is in regular correspondence with them. All extraordinary issues are decided by him. He is bound, however, to rule according to the Constitutions of St. Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Society, the decrees of General Congregations, and the traditions of the Society. Next to the General in authority are the Provincials, one in each Province, appointed by the General, but not for life, and removable at his pleasure. The usual tenure of a Provincial's office is from three to eight years. The Society at present consists of twenty-three Provinces: five in Italy, five in Spain, five in Germany with Belgium and Holland, four (now "dispersed") in France, and four in English-speaking countries, namely, England (with Scotland) Ireland, Maryland, Missouri, besides the "Missions" of Canada and New Orleans. The grand total of members of the Society, according to official returns for the 1st of January, 1901, is 15,145. The returns for the English Province for the same date show a total of 668 -the population of a large village, men of all ages from eighteen to eighty. To the ordinary Jesuit the Provincial is much the most important of Superiors. The General he never sees, and rarely hears of; but the Provincial he has an interview with every year, at the

annual visitation, and for all important and unusual affairs has recourse to him. It is also by the Provincial that he is moved from place to place in the Province, and has his office assigned. Each Province is divided into "Colleges." There are fourteen Colleges in the English Province. The arrangement in the English Province is peculiar in this, that a "College" in England is not necessarily a building, or indeed a place of education at all: it may mean a group of missionary residences. Each College is normally presided over by a Rector, who holds his appointment from the General for periods of from three to nine years. The Rector's second in command, appointed by the Provincial, is called the Minister. As the General has his Assistants, so every Provincial and every Rector has his Consultors, who aid him with their advice, which he takes or not as he sees fit. Unlike the older Religious Orders, the Society of Jesus has no Chapter Meetings, and does not sing the Divine Office in Choir. Nor has it any statutory corporal austerities, such as fasting and abstinence, beyond what is enjoined by the Church on all the faithful.

Every three years there meets what is called the "Provincial Congregation." This consists of the Provincial, the Rectors, and the senior Professed Fathers of the Province, up to the number of forty in all. This Congregation has no legislative authority, but elects two proctors, whom it sends to Rome with any petitions which it may wish to present to the General. Likewise it signifies to him whether it wishes the General Congregation to be convened or not. If the majority of the Provincial Congregations wishes it, the General is obliged to convene the General Congregation. That body consists of the Provincial and two deputies of each Province, the deputies being elected in a Provincial Congregation in which fifty Fathers sit. When assembled, the General Congregation is supreme, even to the deposing of the General, as was nearly done to Father General Thyrsus Gonsalez some two hundred years ago. That, however, is an extreme and unlikely proceeding. Usually, the General Congregation meets only when the General is dead, its meeting being then a necessity for the election of his successor.

Financially, the Society may be described as built in watertight compartments. Each house is a financial unit, and one house is not responsible for the debts of another. Nor is it usual to transfer a member from one Province to another. To

nearly every Province is attached some foreign mission. Thus to England are attached missions in South Africa and the West Indies.

The important thing in government is not the paper theory but the traditional working. The following remarks appeared in *The Month* in 1898, and apply particularly to the government of the Society of Jesus. "What saves individual liberty in a Religious Order, and keeps the members of the body supple and elastic in their work, is not so much the machinery of the constitution as the spirit in which the constitution works. The Heads of the Order have ample powers of command, but are very slow to draw upon them. They hardly ever put out all their authority. They tread softly, handle gently, and are loth to proceed *pro imperio*. Rules are not applied without the unction of charity and what theologians call ἐπιείκεια (epieikeia) or regard for circumstances. Superiors and their elder subjects have grown up together from early youth, and know one another's ways better often than brothers of the same family. They have common interests, common ideals, and are on the easiest of speaking terms. No government is at once so gentle and so firm, so considerate towards the individual, and at the same time so attentive to the general good, as the government of a healthy Religious Body."

III.—Idea of the Society.

"Jesuit," like "Christian," was originally a nickname. (Acts xi. 26: I Pet. iv. 16). The Church has adopted the name "Christian" and received it as an official designation. Not so the name "Jesuit." It may be used without offence, and is used by members of the Society speaking of themselves, but in all official documents the only name for the Body is *Societas Jesu*; and the individuals are *socii* (thus S.J. is *socius Jesu*, "companion of Jesus"): or if the document is the Society's own, they are called *Nostri* ("Ours"). The expression "The Order of Jesus" betrays one who is a stranger to the Society. Jesuits do not speak of the "Order," but of the "Society." In France, Spain, and Italy, they call it the "Company," the name being taken in a military sense. And so St. Ignatius understood it. This leads us to the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius. These embody the fundamental idea upon which the Society of Jesus was originally founded and is still based. No one knows the inner

mind of the Society of Jesus who is a stranger to the Spiritual Exercises: they are a continuous course of meditations, lasting properly for thirty days, but usually shortened to eight. They are divided into four "weeks." In the first "week" the great truths of the end of man, sin, hell, death, and judgment are considered. The remaining three "weeks" answer to the triple division of the mysteries of the Rosary, Joyful, Sorrowful, and Glorious. The core of the Exercises is in the second "week," notably in two famous meditations, one on the Kingdom of Christ, the other on the two Standards of Christ and Lucifer. The upshot of these meditations is that the "exercitant" is led, not necessarily to join the Society, or any Religious Order, or to become a priest, but anyhow to resolve on a chivalrous following of Christ, to advance His Kingdom, *not of this world* (St. John xviii. 36) with *arms of warfare not fleshy* (II. Cor. x. 5: Eph. vi. 11-17), and to turn those arms in the first place against himself, to the overthrow of self-love, self-will, and self interest, so far as worldly comforts and worldly reputation are concerned. It is possible to serve a great cause in such a way as to make the cause, at least at times, secondary to one's own gain, and one's own fame, and one's own advancement and position. Many men have served their country in this spirit, and so have sometimes injured her. And St. Paul complains of men who *seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ* (Phil. ii. 21). The Society, founded on the Spiritual Exercises, endeavours to serve Christ in quite another spirit, a spirit of detachment and disinterestedness: hence the accusation of her enemies, that the Society crushes the individual. It is not for one moment pretended that every deliberate choice of every Jesuit is guided by the principles of the Spiritual Exercises, but every member of the Society owns to those principles, and more or less makes them the rule of his life. No Jesuit has notably swerved from them and prospered in his vocation. To the carrying out of those principles is to be attributed all the spiritual success which the Society has achieved; nay, under the blessing of God, whatever temporal success may have been vouchsafed to it.

Every member of the Society of Jesus is bound by obedience under mortal sin to take no active part in secular politics. It is undeniable that in the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries some Jesuits were greatly involved in political designs, in the interests of religion, as they conceived it. These efforts gave

great disatisfaction to other members of the Society, and on the whole were not crowned with success: hence the stringent prohibition, which has been mentioned, was issued. It is still binding, and at the present day is well observed. When a General Election comes off in this country, no one thinks of enquiring on which side the influence of the Jesuits is thrown. Neither Liberal nor Conservative leaders, nor any of their numerous agents, ever apply to the Society for its support. They recognise that the Society of Jesus is a cypher in politics throughout His Majesty's dominions. A Jesuit will often have his political sympathies, derived not from the Society but from his parentage. But when Jesuit is conversing with Jesuit, politics are hardly ever mentioned, except for amusement. Mercutio's "A plague o' both your houses" is a usual Jesuit sentiment towards the Montagues and Capulets of the political arena. The "political priest," whatever his merits, is not a Father of the Society of Jesus.

The following "Sum and Scope of our Constitutions" is printed in the Rule of the Society. It is an ideal; like other ideals, but imperfectly realised: still, recognised and reverted to. "Men crucified to the world, and to whom the world itself is crucified, such does the plan of our life require us to be: new men, I say, who have stripped themselves of their own sentiments to put on Christ; dead to themselves, to live to justice: who, as St. Paul says, in labours, in watching, in fasting, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in sweetness, in the Holy Ghost, in charity unfeigned, in the word of truth, show themselves the ministers of God, and by the arms of justice on the right hand and on the left, through glory and ignominy, through evil fame and good fame, through prosperity and adversity, hasten by forced marches to their heavenly country themselves, and urge others thither by every means and effort in their power."

IV.—Unpopularity of the Society.

In speaking of the odium that has gathered round the name "Jesuit," it must be borne in mind that the Society always has had many kind friends and warm admirers. We must not treat of "the winter of our discontent" as though there were no "glorious summer" to set it off. It is impossible to set down any one circumstance, as though that were the whole cause or the chief cause of the unpopularity of the Society. Nor is it possible to enumerate all the circumstances which

together make up the cause, nor to appreciate the relative weight assignable to one circumstance or another as elements in this causation. Sufficient to say that some of the concurrent circumstances seem to be the following.

(a) The Society was founded in the sixteenth century, an age of religious animosities. From the martyrdom of Edmund Campion to Oates's plot, that is for a century, the Jesuit traversed England and Scotland in fear of his life. He acted the "artful dodger:" poor man, what else could he do? The evil name has clung to him; and the cloud, under which he was born, has never dispersed. *(b)* Englishmen are intensely disliked in many quarters of the world. They flatter themselves that this dislike is the penalty of their commercial success. There may be some analogous reason operative in the dislike for Jesuits. *(c)* It would be hard to maintain that nothing has ever been done by Jesuits, reasonably to breed dislike. In a Society that is now more than three centuries old, and once numbered 22,000 members, no wonder if argus-eyed searchers of records find some over-clannishness, some forgetfulness of the proper subordination of the Society to the common good of the Church, some bitter resentment of wrong, some unhappy excess of timidity, for they who fear all often come themselves to be feared and suspected. The fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer is for the use of all individuals and all corporate bodies of Christians, even the Society of Jesus. *(d)* There is a tradition that the Founder of the Society prayed that it might never be without persecution. St. Ignatius thought that the close following of Christ, and the active maintenance of His cause in the world, necessarily entailed persecution, He was moved by texts like the following.—*Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household.* (St. Matt. x. 22-25). *Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and banish you, and reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.* (St. Luke vi. 22). *If the world hate you, know ye that it hated me before you. If you had been of the world, the world would love its own: but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you. If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also: if they have*

kept my word, they will even keep yours. (St. John xv. 18-20). *And all who wish to live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.* (II Tim. iii. 12).

V. Doctrine of the Society.

And not as we are spoken ill of, and as some say that we teach, let us do evil that good may come of it: whose condemnation is just. (Romans iii. 8).

The article on Jesuits in the Encyclopaedia Britannica is untrustworthy in its statements, full of misrepresentations, and ought to be re written.* To aid the re writing of it, I will briefly consider the allegation, that the Society of Jesus teaches the maxim that the end justifies the means, or that we may do evil that good may come of it, St. Paul notwithstanding. The maxim is nothing short of heresy, being in manifest contradiction with Holy Scripture. The allegation then amounts to this, that in the Catholic Church a large religious body, absolutely subject to the Holy See, has been teaching for centuries and still teaches a gross heresy. The allegation is an insult, not merely to the Society of Jesus, but to the Holy See and to the whole Catholic Church.

A foreigner gets hold of some maxim of English law. He puts his own construction upon it. He will consult no living English lawyers. He is heedless of their reclamations and repudiations. The law absolutely must be and shall be according to the foreign ruling of it; and having ruled the point in his own peremptory, unauthorised way, this foreigner rounds upon the English bench and bar, and cries fie upon them for their wicked pronouncement. This is Cardinal Newman's parable of the Russian lecturing on the axiom of the British constitution, that the King can do no wrong. Similar is the treatment of the maxim, that "to whom the end is lawful, to him the means are lawful," at the hands of the writer in the Encyclopaedia. The maxim is not a very common one in the Jesuit schools, not very common and not very wise, being open to misconstruction; and when it is brought out, it is immediately guarded by distinctions manifold to prevent abuse. Really it is a very harmless maxim, when explained as we are careful to explain it. It means that there is always (at

* The scholar and critic will turn from these pages of the Encyclopaedia Britannica to Chambers's Cyclopaedia, where under the heading Jesuits he will find a sober, accurate, and trustworthy account of the Society.

least in the abstract) a right way of doing a right thing: when the thing is right, you may take the right, proper, and pertinent way of doing it, if that way is open to you. Thus, if it is right to eat beef, it is right to kill oxen and cook them. If it is right to swim, it is right to go into the water with due observance of decency. If it is right to hang a murderer, it is right to bring him to trial in a competent court. If it is right to have children, it is right to beget them in lawful wedlock. If it is right to shoot an enemy in war, it is right to manufacture gunpowder and exercise oneself at the rifle butts. This is the way that Jesuits and all men (except the writer in the Encyclopaedia) understand the maxim.

In every Catholic treatise on morals, Jesuit or otherwise, there is laid down at starting a certain *thesis*, founded upon St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I-II, qq. 18, 19, 20. The *thesis* is this: "The morality of a human act is determined by its object, its end, and its circumstances." As soon as the beginner has mastered this *thesis*, -and the *thesis* is fundamental in our system -he has mastered the truth, which the *thesis* explicitly contains, that the end does not justify the means. There are two books extensively used in English speaking Jesuit schools at this date, both by the same Jesuit author. The one is entitled *Aquinas Ethicus*, being, so far as it goes, a translation of St. Thomas Aquinas. The other is the volume on *Moral Philosophy* in the series of *English Manuals of Catholic Philosophy* (LONGMANS). In the Index to *Aquinas Ethicus* (vol. ii. p. 449) I find: "End does not justify the means." Following up the reference, I find these statements, translated from St. Thomas, and evidently accepted by the translator (vol I, pp. 75, 76).

We must further observe that, for a thing to be evil, one single defect suffices; but for a thing to be absolutely good, one single good point suffices not, but there is required an entirety of goodness. If therefore the will be good both in point of having a proper object and of having a proper end in view, the exterior act is consequently good. But for the exterior act to be good, the goodness of will, which comes of the intention of the end, does not suffice, but if the will be evil either from the intention of the end or from the act willed, the exterior act is consequently evil. A good will, as signified by a good tree, must be taken as having goodness at once from the act willed and from the end intended. Not only does a man sin by the will when he wills an evil end, but also when he wills an evil act.

Let us hear the translator speaking in his own person. At p. 31 of his *Moral Philosophy*, he lays down the *thesis* above

mentioned, which he puts in this form: "*The morality of any given action is determined by three elements, the end in view, the means taken, and the circumstances that accompany the taking of the said means.*" At p. 32 he explains what is said of the means taken:—

If morality were determined by the end in view, and by that alone, the doctrine would hold that the end justifies the means. That doctrine is false, because the moral character of a human act depends on the thing willed, or object of volition, according as it is or is not a fit object. Now the object of volition is not only the end in view, but likewise the means chosen. Besides the end, the means are likewise willed. Indeed, the means are willed more immediately even than the end, as they have to be taken first.

He adds some further explanation on pp. 47, 48:—

Thus an end entirely just, holy, and pure, purifies and sanctifies the means, not formally, by investing with a character of justice means in themselves unjust, for that is impossible,—the leopard cannot change his spots,—but by way of elimination, removing unjust means as ineligible to my purpose, and leaving me only those means to choose from which are in themselves just. With means in themselves indifferent, the cause is otherwise. A holy and pious end does formally sanctify those means, while a wicked end vitiates them. I beg the reader to observe what sort of means are here in question. There is no question of means in themselves or in their circumstances unjust, as theft, lying, murder, but of such indifferent things as reading, painting, singing, travelling. Whoever travels to commit sin at the end of his journey, his very travelling, so far as it is referred to that end, is part of his sin: it is a wicked journey that he takes. And he who travels to worship at some shrine or place of pilgrimage, includes his journey in his devotion: the end in view there sanctifies means in themselves indifferent.

Finally, at pp. 207, 208, the author attempts a sort of mathematical demonstration, of which I give only the conclusion.

When the distance, difference, or distinction between the evil circumstances and the means comes down to nothing at all, and the evil thing actually is the very means taken, then an infinite urgency of end in view would be requisite to the using of that means: in other words, no end possible to man can justify an evil means.

There is a Greek drama in which the hero complains: "My crimes are the things done to me rather than the things I have done." May not the Society of Jesus use this quotation in reference to this matter of the end justifying the means? No calumny seems to be too monstrous, no call on credulity too vast, no thrice-convicted error too impudent in re-asserting itself, provided these wicked means serve the pious end of putting down Jesuits and Jesuitry.

A scarcely less obnoxious name than Jesuitry is Casuistry. Jesuits hold no monopoly of casuistry. Every priest who

hears confessions must be a casuist: nay, in a certain sense, every lawyer is a casuist. Casuistry is the study of cases of law. The lawyer studies the law of the State: the confessor studies all law, divine and human, in so far as it is binding upon consciences. Not that he expects to forecast every case that may arise; for cases are inexhaustible. He must have knowledge of law, principles, common sense, and experience. All these are exercised in the study of cases of conscience. When a new case arises, the confessor meets it, arguing from like to like, from cases something like it to this particular case now before him, which he has not met with before, ever keeping a hold upon principles and common sense.

Men do not commonly consult their lawyer to find out a heroic and generous line of conduct, but a line which will be safe, within the letter and practice of the law. This the lawyer has studied, and this he points out. No man blames him for that. A confessor has many grades of penitents. Some are full of ardour and generosity: these he trains in the path of self-sacrifice, to do far more than they are bound to do, to wait on God's will of good pleasure, rather than on His will of absolute command. Other penitents he gets, who will barely consent with much pressing and urging to do as much as they are bound to do under grave and serious obligation, obligation which cannot be neglected without mortal sin. It is the confessor's duty to be able to lay down accurately the lines of such obligation. Upon these he takes his stand, and says to this man of little good will: "This I must absolutely require; short of this I must refuse you absolution, and forbid you to approach Holy Communion: this is the extreme boundary line, which you cannot transgress without becoming an enemy of God, or within which you must re-enter to be restored to the friendship of God." To be able to draw that boundary line is part of the art of casuistry. When a casuist says: "This is barely permissible:" he does not invite you to it. When he writes: "This is the least you can do:" he does not advise you to do no more.

Moreover, books of casuistry are like books of medicine. They are not meant for the reading of the general public. Malicious persons may cull extracts from them, and publish them, and do harm thereby: but that harm is chargeable, not on the professional man, be he medical man or priest, but on that malicious circulator of what is not written for the many.

Dirt has been defined "matter out of place." What is not dirt in the pages of a pathological or casuistic treatise, because there it is in its right place, becomes dirt in these prurient and malicious reprints, unfit matter for the untrained mind.

VI. General History of the Society of Jesus.

The Society was founded in the University of Paris in the year 1534, and was approved by Paul III. in a Bull dated 1540. The ten first Fathers, all Masters of Arts in that University, were St. Ignatius Loyola, Founder and first General, St. Francis Xavier, the celebrated missionary, Blessed Peter Favre, James Lainez, the second General, Alphonsus Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, Nicholas Bobadilla, Claude Le Jay, John Codure, Paschase Brouet. The last three were Frenchmen, the others Spaniards, with the exception of Favre, a Savoyard. The first intention was to live in the Holy Land. A war with the Turks having made this impossible, they turned their eyes to the organisation of the Society as it still exists, according to the written Constitutions of the Founder. The Bull *Regimini* of Paul III. in 1540 gave the Society existence as a Religious Order. St. Ignatius died in 1556. By that time, the members of the Society were numerous in Italy, where it continued to flourish, almost without a check, till the suppression. In Spain the Society found a powerful support in Francis Borgia, third duke of Gandia, a member of the family to which Popes Calixtus III. and Alexander VI. belonged. He joined the Society himself, became its third General, and was afterwards canonised. The Jesuit Schools of Theology in Spain attained to celebrity, producing men of the stamp of Suarez, Vasquez, and Molina, who are still recognised theological authorities. In Portugal the Society found a protector in King John III. The College of Coimbra made a great name for itself. The works of the Coimbricenses, Commentators on Aristotle, make part of the vast literature that has gathered round the name of that philosopher. The Society flourished most in Italy, Spain and Portugal, Belgium, and Southern Germany. The College at Louvain was ennobled by the name and teaching of the theologian Leonard Lessius. Blessed Peter Canisius was the first Provincial of Germany, appointed by St. Ignatius. It may be doubted whether the Society has rendered any better and more lasting service to the Church than the preservation of the Faith in [illegible] and Southern Germany. In France, down to the

present day, the Society has had a chequered career. At its first entrance into that country it was vehemently opposed by the very institution which had given it birth, the University of Paris. The University regarded it as an educational rival. The Parliament of Paris also was its implacable enemy. It was also an objection that so many of its members were Spaniards. But it found favour with the first three Bourbon Kings, Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV. Its bitterest enemies were the Jansenists, a sect who started in France a heresy not unlike Calvinism, condemned by Clement XI. and other Popes. The struggle of Jansensist and Jesuit went on for a century and a half. Both combatants perished in the crisis that culminated in the first French Revolution. In the hearing of confessions and the assigning of penances the Jansenists were exceedingly severe, and reproached the Jesuits with laxity in those matters. From that contention emanated the Provincial Letters of Pascal, a sword of keen satire and misrepresentation, under the keen edge of which the Society still bleeds.

Away from the acrimony of theological controversy, the Society found a happy field of labour in the foreign missions, principally in India, Japan, China, Canada, and Paraguay. Francis Xavier, the chief companion of St. Ignatius, laboured ten years in India and Japan with results hard to parallel in the annals of missionary enterprise. In Southern India in the century following, Robert de Nobile lived the hard life of the Brahmins, to gain souls to Christ. Rudolph Aquaviva (brother of Claude Aquaviva, fifth and most celebrated of the successors of St. Ignatius in the Generalship of the Society) lived for years at the court of the Great Mogul, and was subsequently martyred. The first quarter of the seventeeth century witnessed in Japan the opening of one of the most systematic and cruel persecutions which the Church has ever endured. The persecution burst with exceptional fury upon the Society of Jesus in that country, and there were many martyrs. In Canada, many French Jesuits were martyred with horrible torments by the Iroquois and other wild tribes of Indians. Nor was persecution wanting in China. There however at one time the Society met with a singular measure of success, imperial favour, honour, and distinction. Fathers Ricci (died in 1610), Schall, and Verbeest, by their astronomical lore delighted the Emperor, and lived with the honours of mm-

darins. The last years of the Society's work in China, previous to the suppression, were clouded with an unhappy dispute among the Catholic missionaries, about what were known as the Chinese Rites. It was thought that the Jesuits had been too complacent in allowing the Chinese to pay honour to their departed ancestors, even, it was said, beyond the verge of idolatry. The most wonderful of all Jesuit missions was that of Paraguay in South America. The lives of the Europeans out there were so scandalous, that, to save the natives from corruption, as also from being reduced to slavery, the Jesuits obtained leave from the Crown of Spain to have the missions of Paraguay (a land where there is much water and no gold) given over to their sole charge, European traders being excluded. The natives were gathered into what were called Reductions. The Bishop and the Royal Inspectors retained the right of inspecting the Reductions. In every Reduction there lived two Jesuits. Each Reduction was self supporting and autonomous. This system worked until, in the eighteenth century, Paraguay was ceded by Spain to Portugal. The Society was thereupon suppressed, and since that date neither Christianity nor civilisation among the natives of Paraguay has been what it was in the days of the Jesuits.

In the British Isles, until the nineteenth century, the Society had usually no large houses of its own, and no settled footing in the country. Its members wandered as persecuted missionaries, in danger of their lives: or later, lived quietly as chaplains to Catholic county families. The only gleam of sunshine in their fortunes was for a few months under James II. The first two Jesuit missionaries, Blessed Edmund Campion, the Martyr, and Robert Parsons, landed in England in 1580. Campion was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, 1st December, 1581. Parsons escaped to the Continent. The Venerable Henry Garnet was put to death in 1606, on a false charge of being accessory to the Powder Plot. Five or six Jesuits were executed under Charles II. for that tale of imposture and credulity, Oates's Plot. No Jesuits have been put to death in this country since. In Ireland, Salmeron, one of the first ten Fathers, went as Papal envoy. The wanderings and persecutions of the Irish Jesuits have been similar to those of their English brethern. As was to have been expected, Jesuits found no mercy from Cromwell. Fathers Hay, Creighton, and other Jesuits went as secret envoys to the

Court of Mary Stuart, in the days when Mary in Scotland was the one hope of Catholicism. It does not appear that they effected much: certainly they harmed none: some of their reports remain, and are valuable historic evidence. The cruel martyrdom of the Venerable John Ogilvie S.J., in the reign of James I., for no other cause than that of the Catholic Faith, is one of the glories of the Scottish Church.

The Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV., in the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, 21st July, 1773. It had already been expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, from Spain and Naples in 1767. Previously to these calamities the Society had numbered 22,589 members, residing in 24 professed houses, 669 colleges, 176 seminaries, 61 novitiates, 335 missionary residences in Catholic countries, and 275 missionary stations in infidel countries or in the Protestant States of Europe. A "professed house," it may be remarked, is a house where professed Fathers live and no scholastics. It is founded on a basis of severe poverty, and depends for its whole support on alms. At the present day the Society finds it impossible to maintain any "professed house." Till recently, there was one at Rome and one at Naples. The Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* is, as the Society might have said in Shakspeare's words to the Pope who issued it: "A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege, and all unlooked for at your gracious hands." It reduced the Society and its works for the time being to dust. It contains a long enumeration of complaints that had at various times and places been made against the Society of Jesus. At the same time, a careful reader will observe that the Brief rehearses these complaints historically, as complaints that in point of fact have been made, and by no means so clearly pronounces, if indeed it pronounces at all, that these complaints, all or most of them, were justified in fact. The Brief has nothing whatever to do with doctrine: it is a disciplinary and administrative measure: papal infallibility does not enter into it. All that a Catholic, reading the Brief, needed to believe was that the Society was truly and canonically suppressed in all countries where the Brief was promulgated. It was never promulgated in Russia, whither the Jesuits flocked under the protection of Catherine II. Pius VII. formally recognised the existence of the Society in Russia in 1801; in Sicily in 1804; and finally by the Bull *Solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, 7th August, 1814, he restored the Society

of Jesus throughout the world; that day is regarded as the birthday of the "New" Society, as 27th September, the date of the Bull *Regimini*, is of the "Old." "Old" and "New" together make one Society of Jesus.

The halo of romance has not surrounded the brow of the "New" Society. Its members have been and are for the most part either quiet scholars, keeping school, or authors writing books that are not generally read, or missionaries doing the uneventful work of a Catholic priest on the mission, whether at home or abroad. Martyrdom has not been plentiful, as of old in the days of Elizabeth and James, and Iroquois Indians, and infuriated Bonzes and Brahmins. In the Paris Commune, and in the Chinese massacres, some Jesuits lost their lives. There has not been room for a theologian of the celebrity of Suarez and Molina, mankind having gone in quest of other lore. Still the New Society has produced theologians of mark in Rome, as Perrone, Franzelin, Mazzella. Paraguay Reductions are of the number of modern impossibilities, but something of the Reduction system may some day be found practicable where Jesuits are at work on the banks of the Zambesi. Christian and Catholic Majesties have become a rare species, and I do not know that any of those who survive has a Jesuit confessor. Pères Lachaise and Le Tellier are no more at the ear of Kings. No General of the Society in the nineteenth century has attained the European reputation of Claude Aquaviva. There are no Jansenists, happily, left to wrangle with, except in Holland, some few, quiet and obscure. There is no Elizabeth for any modern Robert Parsons, on religious grounds, to seek to dethrone. English, Scotch, and Irish Jesuits no longer live in hiding-holes, or say Mass with closed doors and sentinels posted, at early hours in the morning. The Jesuit of the nineteenth century is, I hope, not a vulgar, but certainly a prosaic and matter of-fact sort of person. His politics are of the commonplace order, and little enough of that: he touches no secret springs of information; he tells you that he has not read even the whole of last week's "Tablet." Plain, prosy natures of this sort are the despair of the historian. With a world clamouring for history, yes, veracious modern history of the doings of the Jesuit,— whither shall the conscientious chronicler betake himself? There is legend enough to be sure, thrice confuted legend (neither legend nor confutation to be entered

here), but even that legend touches chiefly the Old Society, and finds less matter of invention in the New. There remains a history of petty persecutions of the Society in various European countries during the nineteenth century—persecutions painful and vexatious, but not exalted into the regions of the visibly heroic by the rope and knife of Tyburn, the dungeons of His Majesty's Tower, or the watering-can sprinkling the live Jesuit's bare skin with the sulphureous burning waters of Japanese Ungen. From Spain, then, the Jesuits were expelled for five years, 1820-1825; for nine more, 1835-1844; again, 1854-1858; again in 1868; and their position there to-day is none too secure. In Portugal, the New Society has never attained a firm footing, though there is a Portugese Province of 317 members. The vicissitudes of the Society in nineteenth century France are too numerous to record: who to-day takes interest in the doings of the Government of Louis Philippe? There was an expulsion in 1880, inconvenient enough, yet somewhat of the nature of a farce; but the recent drastic measures of M. Waldeck Rousseau have struck the Society in France a blow, grave as that which it received under the ministry of the Duc de Choiseul in 1764. The invasion of Garibaldi in 1860 drove the Society from Naples and Sicily: then followed the proceedings of the Italian Government in the years succeeding the capture of Rome in 1870, spoliation and expulsion, though not so complete as in France. At this day the Italian Assistancy, with its five provinces, Rome, Naples, Sicily, Turin, Venice, is the weakest of the five Assistancies, numbering only 1914 members in all; while the English-speaking Assistancy, the next above it in numbers, counts 2628. The next is the French, 3085, a number that it may be difficult to maintain: above that the Spanish, 3298; and, strongest of all, the German, 4220 members. This last includes the flourishing Belgian Province of 1097 members. It is to be observed that not all these men are in Europe, many are out on foreign missions, in India, China, and America.

The position of the Society in Germany, or rather about Germany, is peculiar. Directed by Prince Bismarck, the Government of the German Emperor took alarm at the definition of Papal Infallibility by the Vatican Council. Considering the Jesuits to have been main advisers of that measure, Bismarck by law in 1873 broke up all their houses in the territory of the Empire, and forbade their corporate existence,

and indeed their doing any work as Jesuits there at all. Since then, Jesuits have worked in Germany only as individuals, and more or less by stealth. They have no schools in Germany, but a large school at Feldkirch, in Austrian territory, which draws many German boys, and another school in Holland. They keep houses of study for the scholastics of the Society on Dutch territory, close to the German frontier. They have flourishing colleges and missions in North America, and in the Bombay Presidency of India, in Brazil, and in Denmark. The German Province is the largest in the Society, 1410 members. The situation is something like that of the English Province in the eighteenth century, with its novitiate and its one college in Flanders. That college is now Stonyhurst. Though the German Province has prospered greatly, thanks to the strength of Catholicism in Westphalia and on the Rhine, the Province is still hampered by the suppression of its corporate life in the Fatherland, and aspires to a more free existence. For many years the German Fathers at Ditton Hall were widely known in the North of England, and welcomed for the aid they were ever ready to render to the secular clergy. They have since removed to Holland. In Austria, a Province by itself, the Society has many houses, notably one at Innsbruck.

Further to enter into the fortunes of the Society in the twentieth century, belongs not to history but to prophecy. An idea is entertained in some quarters that the Society of Jesus is an old-world institution, a machine that has served its time but is now antiquated, incapable of adaptation to modern requirements, something therefore that ought to be broken up, as impeding the progress of the Church and the world. The Society is the servant of the Holy See: and to the Holy See finally it belongs to decide whether the Society of Jesus shall be maintained in place or discharged. *To its own master it standeth or falleth*, and, continuing the Apostle's words, its children will say in hope: *and it shall stand, for God is able to make it stand.* (Rom. xiv. 4). Like other large bodies, the Society may be expected to contain timid and over cautious men, also impetuous and rash men, besides some men of discretion. Like other large bodies, it is also slow to move and averse to change. The division into Provinces, however, enables changes to be made according to local needs. In England and America, and no doubt elsewhere too, the Society shows by its deeds no slight readiness to keep up with the

times. An educational body must ride with the time. For a contemplative Order there is no time; it rests with gaze fixed upon the eternity of God.

Ever and anon the word "suppression" is borne on whispering winds to the Jesuit's ear. But he does not fear it. Only the Pope can canonically suppress him. As a bone once broken and set again is said to grow stronger, so the Society is in some measure more secure for having been once suppressed. The years in which the Society lay in abeyance were not happy years for the Church. The corrupt monarchies, mainly instrumental in that suppression, have perished or have changed. The Society has no quarrel with the advancing force of democracy. Nowhere does it flourish better than under the free institutions of Great Britain and America. When the breath of true liberty inspires the French Republic, it will flourish there also. The individual Jesuit, at least the English-speaking variety of the species, is cheery and confident of the future. The mutter of the storm occasionally reaches his ear: but things are very different in England and Scotland under Victoria and Edward from what they were under Elizabeth and James; and those old times can scarcely be brought back by any recrudescence of bigotry. Besides supernatural considerations of the Divine protection, which never failed his ancestors, though it spared them not the conflict, the Jesuit has, from an earthy standpoint, some of the proverbial vivacity of the cat with nine lives. *O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

Harder struggles in the past;
Present ills not come to last.

HOW I RECEIVED MY SIGHT.

A CONVERT'S TRUE STORY.

THE following interesting story was related to me this year (1898) in Rome by an American lady who was at that time deeply anxious for the conversion of her sister, who had remained a Protestant and was bringing up her children in the same faith. I am happy to say her earnest prayers were heard, and this sister and her whole family are now as fervent converts as herself.

I was born in New York, and brought up in the Presbyterian Church. A constant attendant at Sunday school, and an omnivorous reader, I early imbibed a most inveterate hatred of the Catholic Church from books published by the American Tract Society, in which she is represented as the 'Scarlet Woman' and the Pope as 'Antichrist.' I wish that I could recall the titles of these books, but I cannot. I remember one character distinctly—a girl named Lily, who was forced into a convent—and all the horrors of her life with the nuns were painted in such glowing colours, that the book haunted me for years and prejudiced me completely against all nuns.

"When I was eighteen I took a long voyage with my dear parents. My father had large interests in the mahogany forests of South America. He chartered a

schooner called the *Two Sisters*, fitted her up suitably for us, and we sailed away from Boston for Carthagena.

"We were thirty days at sea, touching at Port au Prince on our way out; and remained five months in South America, in a little half-civilized Spanish town sixty miles up the Sinu River. Knowing the spiritual dearth we should encounter, my mother had provided us with Episcopal prayer-books; every day at sea we read the Psalter for the day and the morning and evening prayers together, feeling as if this was the only tie that bound us to the civilized world. When we returned to New York we took sittings in young Dr. Stephen Tyng's church, and soon after we received Confirmation, as I had become convinced, from the study of my Bible, of the descent of the Holy Ghost in the 'laying on of hands,' and I longed to have a share in that great grace. I longed inexpressibly for a Bishop to lay his hands upon my head. But we prided ourselves upon being very 'Low Church,' and when finally, through God's mercy, my steps were led across the ocean and I came to Italy, I was as bitter an enemy to the Church of Rome as ever I had been in my childhood.

"I reached Florence the last day of May, and that evening in taking a walk with my sister we chanced to hear singing in a queer little church called the 'Madonna delle Grazie,' which used to be on the bridge of that name. We went in, attracted by the lights and the voices; it was something to see a bit of local colour. It must have been the last service of the month of Mary, and it was the first time I ever heard those blessed words,

Rosa mystica, Stella matutina, Refugium peccatorum, ora pro nobis. I remember kneeling and praying earnestly for my absent mother, little dreaming that my dear Lord was on the altar before me, but fully believing that 'where two or three are gathered together in His Name, there is He in the midst of them.'

"I had come to Italy for six months, and after visiting Florence and Siena we went to Rome. We had a furnished apartment in the house of an Italian lady of rank in reduced circumstances. Upon one occasion she was to have a private audience with Pope Leo XIII., and invited me to go with her. I knew but little Italian then, but I understood when his Holiness, with his genial smiles, said to the Marchesa: 'And this young lady lives with you? she is good, is she not?' And I, not wishing to be under false colours, and thinking he meant to ask if I were a good Catholic, hastily made a confession of faith there at the feet of the Holy Father, and said: 'Your Holiness, I am a Protestant.' He seemed amused at my candour, and, laying his hand on my head, he said: 'But I will give you my blessing for you and for all your family.'

"Time passed, and before my six months in Italy were ended I had promised to remain there for ever. I had pronounced the words of Ruth of old: 'Thy God shall be my God, and thy people my people.'

"My sister married my husband's brother. They were married a year before us. Our husbands belonged to an old Catholic family, one of whose ancestors had been a Crusader and had brought a piece of the True Cross from Palestine. I regret to say that our husbands were very

lukewarm Catholics, in spite of a most devout mother, and we were married in the American Episcopal Church in the Via Nazionale at Rome, after, of course, the civil marriage at the Capitol, which is the only tie that binds according to modern Italian law. My husband's family expressed the desire that we should promise to baptize our children in the Catholic faith, but I flatly refused, saying that it would be perfectly impossible for me to bring up my children in a creed in which I did not myself believe. So, when my dear boy was born, he was baptized at home by an Episcopal clergyman.

"Two other children were sent to us, but they lived only a few days, received baptism, then returned to plead for us before the great white throne; 'they ever behold the face of their Father in Heaven,' and this thought brought Heaven near, and covered the sky with rainbows through my tears.

"When my boy was two years old he became very ill from teething, and our physician ordered him to be taken to the mountains immediately. I was obliged to go alone with him, and we had decided upon Siena; in fact, the railroad tickets were bought for that place, but a singular aversion from the town come over me, and I passed a sleepless night revolving in my mind how I could avoid going there without being considered 'capricciosa,' which is a particularly undesirable quality in the minds of all Italians. Even in the dark, I shrank from what my husband would think of me, after all my vaunted Anglo-Saxon decision of character.

"With the dawn I arose and slipped away in my dressing-gown to call my brother-in-law and put the case

before him. He met me more than half-way, succeeded in persuading my husband to send me to some relatives of theirs in Umbria, changed the tickets for us, and at the hour we were to have left for Siena, we left for Gubbio, on the morning of the 2nd of July, the day in which the Church celebrates that most tender mystery of the Visitation, when 'Mary arose in haste and went into the hill-country.'

"Gubbio is one of the most interesting towns in Italy. It can be reached by diligence from Perugia, but is more accessible by way of Fossato, on the Ancona line, where a train on a branch road meets the express, and in an hour takes one through the Apennines to Gubbio, situated picturesquely on the slope of Monte Ingino. Here Saint Francis of Assisi lingered to talk to his friend the wolf, and persuaded him not to continue his nightly depredations upon the flocks of the good citizens. Mass is said annually in a chapel built in commemoration of that event, where a carved wooden wolf of very primitive workmanship adorns the entrance. Here Dante wrote canto xxii. of the *Paradiso*, while on a visit to his Ghibelline friend Bossone, whom he had met at Arezzo. And here Maestro Giorgio lived and died, and painted his world-famous majolica, with its beautiful ruby, iridescent tints; occasional bits of this charming ware are still unearthed near his house, but all the perfect pieces have gone far from their mountains to adorn the museums of the world. Learned archæologists visit Gubbio to study the bronze Etruscan tablets that were unearthed there, about the deciphering of which there have been so much eager discussion and bitter

wrangling; and students of early Umbrian Art go there to see the frescoes of Ottaviano Nelli, that worthy forerunner of Raphael whose pictures breathe the true spirit of Umbrian piety blended with refined colouring and delicate drawing.

"It was to this charming mediæval town that a merciful Providence led my footsteps. Here my husband joined me for the summer, and here we spent the winter months as well, on account of our child's health. It was a strange experience for one who had always been in the midst of the busy social life of a large city. It seemed almost uncanny to have absolutely no engagements; it was like taking a year out of one's life, and the isolation was like the snow about us, covering us 'as with a garment' white and still, unbroken and very restful.

"With the exception of my husband's relatives, I knew only one lady in Gubbio, a devout Catholic, who had been a governess in England for many years. She was the only person with whom I could speak my native tongue, and she had been warned that it was better not to speak with me on the subject of creed, as I was a most bitter Protestant, always ready to protest and rather antagonistic, which was only too true.

"She had a fine library, and timidly ventured to offer me a copy of Longfellow. What must have been her astonishment, poor dear, when I asked, instead, for Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro Vita sua!* I hastily explained, with my usual aggressive candour, that I only desired to read it from curiosity; that 'Lead, kindly light' had long been my favourite hymn; and that

though I could imagine how the soft light falling through painted glass, the music, etc., of the Catholic Church might appeal to the poor and ignorant, I could not imagine how an intellectual man like John Henry Newman could possibly become a Roman Catholic.

"Very gently, in the Cardinal's own words, she replied:—

> "'And I hold in veneration,
> For the love of Him alone,
> Holy Church as His creation,
> And her teachings as His own.'

"Then she went her way, doubtless to pray for me in the depths of those dear, solemn churches which I so despised, though, thank God, I was always reverent in them, out of respect for the feelings of others, and never talked or laughed in a church, as I have seen so many Protestants do in Rome, especially in St. Peter's, where on Easter Sunday the conduct of many persons who call themselves ladies is simply scandalous.

"I read the book conscientiously, and I made up my mind that, in order intelligently to oppose the doctrines of the Catholic Church, I had better know something more about them. It was mortifying to think I was a Protestant simply because I was born one. Considering my right of personal judgment, in which I gloried, it was illogical not to know both sides of the question; and St. Peter's words kept ringing in my ears: 'Being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that hope which is in you.'

"So I borrowed books of my patient friend—*The Ritual of the New Testament*, by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett; *A Catechism of the Catholic Religion*, by

the Rev. Joseph Deharbe; a pamphlet containing 'A Conference on the Authority of the Church, held March 1, 1679, between James Benignus Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and John Claude, Calvinist Minister at Charenton;' and *The Grounds of Faith*, four lectures delivered in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, by Cardinal Manning. The books I loved best were Faber's *Poems*, and the *Life of Elizabeth Seton*, by Mme. De Barbery.

"As soon as my friends on the other side of the sea learned from my letters the trend of my thoughts, and the 'dangerous' study upon which I had entered, they stretched out their hands to save me, and sent me volume after volume against Catholicism, all of Dr. Farrar's works, and many more.

"I read these also, sitting up alone into the small hours of the night, reading for and against; quenching the Spirit all I could, for fear of taking a false step through my emotions; earnestly wishing to see with the eyes of my mind and not with those of my heart. And this went on for nearly a year, till we were called suddenly to Rome for Easter, without any definite plan of return. As I stood in the carriage window watching the receding mountains where Saint Ubaldo had lived so near to God seven centuries ago, my soul cried out: 'Lord, I believe: help Thou my unbelief,' and for the first time in my life I understood what the words meant.

"On Easter morning I went to the early Communion in the Protestant Episcopal Church, an edifice endeared to me by many sacred memories of my dearly loved mother. Again I knelt at the chancel where I had

knelt as a bride, but I came away with anguish of spirit, the service for me was void and empty. I had lost the faith of my childhood, and was unwilling to embrace any other. What I suffered in the days that followed only those will comprehend who have been through a similar mental upheaval. In looking back it seems strange to me that I did not seek some priest's advice, but I spoke to no one on the subject, and had it been possible for me to give up my belief in the Divinity of Our Lord I should certainly have become a Unitarian at that time, for I was fully persuaded that the so-called 'Church of England' was a national institution like her army and navy, with the Queen at the head. Another plea for the Unitarians, and a strong one, was, that the two most perfect characters I had known intimately were Unitarians, and I had known some very unworthy Catholics; thus I kept thinking of the words, 'By their fruit ye shall know them,' but I could not deny the Divinity of Our Lord, nor cease to believe in the Blessed Trinity.

"One of my stumbling-blocks for a long time was the thought of my Puritan ancestry. I had always been proud, as a child, of my descent from the French Huguenots, and it seemed to me that they would turn in their graves if they knew about me, as if all their sufferings in this world had been in vain because of me.

"After we had been in Rome a month my husband received an order from Prince Torlonia to paint a picture on one of his estates near Gubbio, and we returned to Umbria.

"For some time I had felt reluctant to pass by the

churches without going in, for fear it *might* all be true, and that Our Lord was really there, hidden in the Tabernacle as He was in His cradle at Bethlehem, where I should not have recognized Him had I been living at that time in Judea. I used to go and sit in the solemn Cathedral, built into the mountain side, and try to realize that Mass had been said there daily for centuries before America was discovered. Sometimes I was the only worshipper, and what was most impressive to me was the lovely music, exquisite singing, rich vestments, all used simply for the honour and glory of God, without any thought of an audience. Imagine such a thing happening in any fashionable church in New York, such as Dr. John Hall's or Mr. Henry Ward Beecher's church. Doubtless these edifices were erected for the worship of God, but they are always spoken of as belonging to the preacher who is called to fill the pulpit, upon whose popularity the financial prosperity of the church depends.

"At length I began to feel 'out in the cold,' and to envy the little children who came in hastily to cross themselves and murmur a prayer—children whose happy destiny had caused them to be born Catholics. And when the evening bells rang out the hour when the whole Catholic world pauses to repeat the *De Profundis*, the beautiful Psalm in memory of the dead, my heart was wrung with sorrow for my dear mother in her distant grave, that my lips must remain silent, that my voice could not join in the Church's refrain, 'Eternal rest give to her, O Lord, and may perpetual light shine upon her; may she rest in peace,' because I

had been brought up to think it a sin to pray for the dead, and had been taught to limit God's mercy to this side of the tomb.

"At last it came to me, this great gift of Faith, for it *is* a gift, and no amount of clever argument will wear away one's prejudices; they must be melted by God's grace alone. It was on the Feast of Corpus Domini, and I stood in the great piazza waiting for the procession. Up the steep street came the children, scattering flowers before the Host; the old Latin hymn rose triumphantly towards the sky. I knelt, and all my doubts vanished; my heart became as that of a little child, and the people kneeling about me little dreamed that one among them had received her sight.

"Two months later, early in the morning, I was received into the Church by the Bishop of Gubbio. The ceremony took place in his private chapel, and on that happy day I received five Sacraments, Baptism (conditional), Confirmation, Penance, Holy Communion, and Matrimony, as it was necessary to have the Church's blessing on our marriage. The religious rite was followed by a sumptuous breakfast, at which the genial Bishop presided, and quite overpowered our boy with sweets, while my mother-in-law's face beamed with joy, and my godmother, the dear lady who had offered me her volume of Longfellow, seemed almost afraid to be so happy. And all this kindness, this courteous treatment within the Bishop's palace, was extended to me, a stranger, from the highest of motives, 'without money and without price;' when I offered a small present for the poor of Gubbio it was refused, and I was told that

the poor would enjoy it more to receive it directly from my hands.

"One thing I will mention, as it may help others who are dreading lest the step they wish to take should destroy all their earthly happiness. My dear husband opposed my becoming a Catholic; he seemed to fear lest the qualities he had loved in me would vanish with the change, and he went so far as to declare, that he was quite sure he should cease to care for me if I took the step. This was a dreadful trial and temptation to me, for I loved him fondly; yet I really did not hesitate, even then, because I felt I must save my soul; only it made me terribly sad and unhappy. Well, the very morning we came back from the Bishop's palace to our home, he stopped at the door and opened wide his arms to me. To my intense joy, I saw in his face that all was right, and that he loved me as much as ever; so that, by the mercy of God, his heart had also been changed and I was spared this great sorrow. I realized what Abraham felt when God gave him back Isaac; because it seems to me that there is a strong note of maternal love in woman's affection for her husband.

"Eleven years have gone by since then, and now, as I linger in these dear Roman churches, I no longer envy the little Italian children, for I have entered into their heritage, and, with St. Elizabeth of Hungary, I murmur:—

> "'All without is mean and small,
> All within is vast and tall;
> All without is harsh and shrill,
> All within is hushed and still.'"

CONFIDENCE IN GOD.

We must not doubt that God, who has promised to hear all our prayers, will keep His gracious promise, because as St. Paul says: "He who is faithful cannot deny Himself." If only we could realize this as St. Francis Xavier did, who exclaimed one day: "Far from fearing to lose the love and protection of my God, I fear to make my doubts and distrusts of His great mercy an obstacle to His generosity." Two or three striking instances of the reward granted to such confidence were related to me by a priest the other day, which I am going to record here.

A very holy religious, who was in charge of a large workhouse, was roused one night from a sound sleep by a message to say that a man was dying in the infirmary there, and earnestly desired the last Sacraments The good priest dressed quickly, and taking the holy oils hurried to the workhouse. On his arrival he naturally inquired of the night porter where the man was whom he was to attend. The porter replied: "But, Father, no one has sent for you. There is no one dying that I know of—stay," he added, "I remember a man coming in last evening who looked very ill. Perhaps it is he?" "I will go up to the infirmary and see," replied the priest, and hastened upstairs. As

he entered the sick ward a man lifted up his hands and cried out: "Thank God, Our Lord has heard my prayer and sent you to me. They told me you were coming at seven o'clock to say Mass; but that would be too late for me!" The poor fellow instantly made his confession and received the last Sacraments with the greatest thankfulness and joy. Half an hour after the end came. The priest remained to the last; but when all was over returned to his monastery, and meeting the lay brother, said to him: "I am so thankful that you called me. I was just in time to help that poor fellow." The lay brother stared at him in utter surprise and exclaimed: "But, Father, I never called you! I did not know you had gone out!" It turned out to be quite true. No one had called him, save the angel sent by God in answer to the prayer of His faithful servant.

A similar case happened to a priest in the Aberdeen diocese. He was also suddenly roused to go to a woman, whom he did not know, and the name of the street and the number of her house were carefully given to him. When he arrived, to his great astonishment he found her sweeping the floor. In answer to his inquiries she said she was not ill; that no one was dying in the house, and that she certainly had never sent for him. The priest replied: "Well, I can't understand it; but since I am come, I will hear your confession if you like, and give you absolution." The woman, who was a good Catholic, readily consented, and thanked him warmly afterwards for having taken the trouble to come. The priest went home; but

before he had reached his house, a boy ran after him to say that directly after he had left, the woman had dropped down dead from heart failure!

A still more curious and awful event of this sort happened to another Scotch priest. There was a gentleman living in a remote Highland place and a Catholic; but one who had neglected his duties for many years and lived a bad and immoral life. Still, he had the Faith; and in answer to all remonstrances always declared he would change some day, trusting, in fact, to a death-bed repentance. In order to ensure, however, that he should not die without the Sacraments, he always had a priest in his house and sometimes even two. As it happened, he was taken seriously ill one day, and at that very time both priests were away from different causes. In despair he sent a messenger for the nearest parish priest, who was some miles away. The weather was terrible: a heavy snowstorm had obliterated all the mountain tracks and made travelling well-nigh impossible. Still, the priest determined to go, and saddled his pony accordingly. When they had started, however, the pony absolutely refused to go the way he wished, in spite of coaxing or whipping. At last, in despair, he gave him his head and let him go as he would. The pony took a most difficult track, and to avoid a bog, went for more than a mile on the top of a wall, which the priest only discovered a day or two later, when the storm had subsided. Suddenly he arrived at a desolate cottage high up in the hills, where the pony deliberately stopped at the door. The priest dismounted, and on opening it a poor

girl rushed forward and exclaimed : "O thank God, and Our Lady who has heard our prayers ! My mother is dying, having been taken ill suddenly last night. I could not leave her to fetch a priest, and I had no one to send and was almost in despair. But she went on praying, full of confidence in God that He would not let her die without the Sacraments, for which she had always so earnestly prayed. And now God has brought you here and she will die in peace." The priest marvelling more and more at this explanation of his pony's unusual behaviour, hastened to the sick-room, administered the dying woman, who received him with tears of gratitude and joy, and then started off again to try to help the sick man for whom he had been summoned. This time the pony made no objection, and he quickly reached the big house up the glen. But it was too late. The gentleman had died, in agony of body and mind, almost immediately after sending for the priest. Thus God had rewarded the faith and love of the poor unknown peasant woman in this truly supernatural manner, and left the rich man, who had so long trifled with grace, to die unabsolved and miserable.

PAKIANATHEN, THE HINDU CONFESSOR.

A STORY OF THE MADURA MISSION.

It was one of those clear, bright, moonlight nights, so characteristic of Southern India, when everything is bathed in silvery light without the inconvenience of a scorching sun, that a group of natives might be seen squatting under the verandah-like eaves of a thatched hut. They were engaged in an animated discussion, and seemed heedless of the fact that midnight was fast approaching. Pakkiam, chief of the village of Pragassaburam in the Tinnevelly district, was consulting with his most influential friends before taking a very important step. A few days previously a Catholic missionary had passed that way, and had made such an impression on the villagers by his words and exhortations that they seriously thought of becoming Christians to the number of sixty families.

Pakkiam had just finished speaking, and Pakianathen (Felia), a man of upright character and great firmness of mind, thus addressed his chief: "Your words, like the morning breeze that gently waves the topmost boughs of our palm trees, have refreshed our aching hearts. But you have not, I think, set forth clearly enough the difficulties which the old Protestant pastor and his catechists will throw in our way. Alas! I

foresee that many of us will not have sufficient courage to vanquish all these obstacles. Those who owe money to the Protestants will be ruined, for their debts will be sued for and they will be obliged to sell all they have to pay them. Those who cultivate the land belonging to the Protestant minister will have to give it up, and a thousand vexations will be invented for the others."

He paused a moment and seemed looking into the future. His words had caused a feeling of sadness to cast its shadow over his hearers and the chief himself knew that they were only too true.

"Your words are the words of a wise man," he replied. I fear we shall have to encounter a great storm, which will overwhelm many of us. if God does not give us a special grace. But enough of this for to-night. Let us go quietly home." A minute afterwards all the meeting had dispersed, the men returning stealthily to their huts.

But such an important gathering could not long remain secret, and the Protestant catechist, through a woman's tongue, soon got wind of it. This worthy individual lost no time in posting off the news to the minister, who at once hurried to the village, accompanied by all his agents. They soon made such a disturbance that the poor natives, threatened with every possible evil, repented of their resolution. Pakianathen alone held out, was duly instructed and joyfully received baptism. At first the catechist and other agents of the minister let him alone, thinking that he would not persevere. But when they saw that month after month passed by, and still he did not give in, never came to the Protestant Church, and had even converted

some of his friends, they determined to try force. A council of all the leading Protestants of the village was convened and presided over by the catechist, who summoned Pakianathen to appear before this mock tribunal. Our neophyte refused. Thereupon the catechist told him, if he did not give up his Popery, he would be driven from the village. To this impertinence Pakianathen replied: "This is my home. I owe no man anything, and no one has any right to trouble or intimidate me." This answer was too much for Protestant pride, and the catechist, gravely offended, bit his lips and twisted his moustache—no good omen for Pakianathen, who knew only too well what he might expect from his enemies. However, he attended more devoutly than ever the daily Mass in the Catholic Church, and edified every one by his charity and piety One day as he was going to Mass, the Protestant catechist called him, but Pakianathen appeared not to hear and passed on his way. All at once a number of men rushed out of a shed, seized hold of him and dragged him to the Protestant Church. Here his arms were tied behind his back, and the catechist began to question him as follows:—

"You have abused our patience long enough; renounce your papistical doctrines and return to the religion of Christ."

Pakianathen. "Never; I shall be a Catholic as long as I live."

Catechist. "Remember you are in my power."

Pakianathen. "I know it. But do you think that in speaking thus you will intimidate me?"

Catechist. "I shall not let you go."

Pakianathen. "And what will you do after all? Before I was baptized, I feared to die without baptism. But now that I am a baptized Catholic and a member of the Catholic Church, I can afford to laugh at your menaces."

The catechist then ordered the men to flog him.

Pakianathen. "I tell you I do not fear death. If you kill me on account of my faith, I shall go straight to Heaven. I know you do not fear Divine justice; but you will have to answer for my death before men. The Catholic missionaries will not forsake me, you may be sure of that."

"Has your common-sense returned yet?" exclaimed the catechist in a furious tone, after the beating had continued some time.

"Yes—certainly."

"Then what religion will you profess?"

"The only true one."

"Which is the true one?"

"The Roman Catholic religion"

"What do you know about it, ignoramus? Why, you can neither read nor write!"

"During the few months I have been a Catholic, I have learnt more than by listening to you for twenty years."

"That is to say, we are in the wrong?"

"That is not my business. I have only to do with my own soul."

The catechist became more and more exasperated at these calm replies, and resolved to force from him by torture some word of apostasy. He gave a sign to his

subordinates, and they seized hold of the cord that bound him, threw one end of it over a beam that went across the building and hoisted him up till his feet swung clear of the ground. In this position they began to beat him again, till his whole body was covered with wounds. His arms became livid, and the cords cutting into the flesh made the blood spurt out. Still the sufferer showed no sign of yielding or of impatience. His only cry was: "Jesus, Saviour! have mercy upon me!" "Mary, Mother of God and my mother, pray for me!"

The news of this terrible event soon spread through the village, and the few Catholics who were there rushed to the Protestant Church to try to save this victim of Protestant bigotry. But at last the more moderate among the Protestants were themselves indignant at the cruelty of their co-religionists, and warned them of the consequences, declaring their conduct was worse than that of barbarians. The torturers at last let their victim go, who, as soon as he was able, for he had almost lost consciousness, was assisted by the Catholics to the house of the Catholic missionary. The good priest, at the recital of what he had suffered and at the sight of his wounds and bruises, could not restrain his tears, and felt himself in the presence of one of the early martyrs. After doing everything he could to console and encourage him, he sent him (with one or two witnesses of the atrocity which had been committed) to the resident magistrate, with a petition demanding, not vengeance, but protection for the future. The magistrate, though a Protestant, was impartial and just, and when he heard all that Pakianathen had suf-

fered at the hands of the catechist and his companions for his faith, he was greatly incensed and grieved, and exclaimed: "This coercion in matters of religion is shameful in every way, and I will take care that the perpetrators of this act are severely punished. The English law allows every one to embrace and follow the religious faith that he pleases, and no one shall, with impunity, suffer on that account." Then turning to Pakianathen he added: "You can go in peace, my good fellow, and I will see that you are protected henceforth."

The magistrate kept his word in every sense, to the great humiliation of the Protestants. Pakianathen is now dead; but he lived to see his whole village embrace the Catholic faith.

OUR LADY, HELP OF CHRISTIANS.

AN EPISODE OF THE GOANESE SCHISM.*

It was on the 2nd of May, 1854, that the Catholics of Manapad went in procession to the Church of the Holy Cross, headed by two confraternities, all dressed in their gayest attire and displaying their different insignia. Their missionary, the Rev. Father Laurent, followed in a palanquin, carrying a relic of the True Cross. The procession had already passed through the principal streets when, all of a sudden, a troop of Goanese schismatics fell upon it like so many wild beasts. Foaming with rage and uttering oaths and blasphemies, they dragged down the banners, broke the silver crucifixes, from which they wrenched the figures of Our Lord, and finally carried off all that was precious or worth having. This, however, did not satisfy them, and they began to beat all the Catholics they could lay hands on in the most shameful way. Father Laurent, while getting out of his palanquin, was surrounded and attacked; and his catechist, who tried to protect him, was overpowered and struck to the ground. The Father, however, being a man of strong build, shook off the

* For an explanation of this Goanese Schism, we refer our readers to a little book published by Burns & Oates on the "Madura Mission," by the Rev. H. Whitehead, S.J.

men who were holding him, and eventually succeeded, together with his faithful disciple, in making good his escape to the presbytery.

It was not the love of plunder which had incited this raid, for the schismatics had a darker project in view; namely, to utterly ruin the Catholic cause in Manapad. For this purpose they flew the next day to the civil authorities, who had, of course, heard of the previous day's visit, and put the blame of the whole affair on the Catholics.

Seeing the turn things were taking, Father Laurent lost no time in sending a letter to his superior, who was then at Palancottah, by two trusty Christians, explaining the whole affair just as it had happened, and adding that it was impossible to obtain justice on the spot, as the aggressors had taken the name of victims and accused the Catholics of the crimes they themselves had committed. The affair was coming before the courts and if the case were lost, imprisonment and fines stared the Catholics in the face. No sooner had the superior read the letter than he took the matter vigorously in hand and set out at once for Virapandiapatnam, a village some ten miles from Manapad, in the vicinity of which resided Mr. Bird, then chief magistrate of the Tinnevelly district. Here he was informed that the schismatics had already filed an accusation against Father Laurent and twenty-five of his congregation for rioting and robbery at Manapad: but that if he had a counter-petition to make it would be examined as well as the other. Thereupon Father Laurent and some of the most influential Catholics were at once sent for.

On their arrival, they drew up a counter-charge against the mayor, the police, and the sub-magistrate himself. Unfortunately, Mr. Bird was at that moment obliged to leave home, as urgent business called him to Colasagarapatam. The sub-magistrate, however, was clever enough not only to gain the good will of Mr. Bird, but also to obtain an authorization to judge the case himself. The schismatics received this news with cries of delight, and the poor Catholics were thoroughly disheartened. Towards evening, however, a sudden thought struck the Father Superior, which was, that according to law, an accused man cannot judge his own cause. The sub-magistrate was one of the accused, therefore he had no right to judge the case. An appeal in this sense was made to Mr. Bird, who having carefully read the missive, took up his pen and wrote to his assistant, Mr. C——, bidding him suspend all other occupations and come at once to Manapad to judge a very difficult case. Then turning to his secretary, he said: "Order, in my name, the sub-magistrate to suspend the case of the 2nd of May and send on all documents to Mr. C——, who alone is charged with the case." At this news the Catholics took fresh courage. "The finger of God is here!" exclaimed Father Laurent, as the vakeel finished his report. But all was not over yet, for God wished to try His faithful servants still more.

The Father Superior and Father Laurent went at once to Manapad to prepare for the arrival of Mr. C——; but as that gentleman could not come, he ordered both parties to appear before him at Tinnevelly, which they did the next day. At the first examination, the schismatics

lied with such audacity that the judge was inclined to believe in the guilt of the Catholics, and they returned to Manapad boasting of an easy victory. "If we cannot discover all or part of the stolen articles we are lost!" exclaimed the Father Superior. "Indeed we are!" replied one of the bystanders. "But some say they are safely stowed away in the Goanese presbytery." This seemed to be a clue to be followed up, so no time was lost in obtaining an order to search the house in question. But to the confusion of the Catholics, nothing whatever could be found. The next day was the Feast of Our Lady, Help of Christians, and the Fathers took occasion to implore their faithful flock to redouble their prayers to Mary, and offered their Masses for the like intention, so that they might obtain her help in their critical position.

By the 24th Father Laurent was again at Periatalie. Just as he was going to bed, a sharp knock at the door startled him. What could it mean? Perhaps a demand for Extreme Unction. Again the knock came louder than before and a strange voice called out: "Father! open quickly. We have something very important to tell you." The door was opened and in walked two men. "I am a Catholic, Father," said one of them, "and my name is Rayapen. A long while ago, out of compassion, I took in two orphan girls and brought them up with my own children. The youngest one, who is lame, could not find a husband; but the eldest I married to a Paraver of Manapad. He now lives in that part of the town called Condel. There is a large *pouvarasson* tree before the house, which is very

poor and covered with palm leaves. About a month ago the lame girl, who still lives with me, went to see her sister and brought her back to my house. They began talking about the affair which had taken place on the 2nd of May, believing themselves to be alone. But when they saw that I had overheard their conversation, they were troubled and began to talk of something else. However, a little time after, they revealed to me their secret, begging me not to mention a word to any one about it. This is the substance of what the eldest told me :—

"'After the flight and the pillage, the schismatics, not knowing what to do with the stolen goods, carried them to our house. My husband refused for a long time to receive them ; but they eventually forced him to do so, telling him that his house was so dark and poor that nobody would suspect that precious objects of silver, ivory and silk had been hidden there. They added that they would be responsible if the affair were found out. They then folded all the articles in a mat and thrust the bundle between the rafters and the thatch.'

"I promised her to keep the secret, Father," continued the man, "but when I thought of what might happen to you and the Catholics, I felt obliged to come and tell you. Make haste, I beseech of you, and seize the things before the enemy removes them."

The narrative of the poor man was so simple that Father Laurent could not disbelieve it and felt that Our Lady's intercession had obtained the much-wished-for disclosure. Early the next morning he wrote to tell the good news to the Father Superior. His letter

began with the words: "Miracle! miracle! Yesterday I entreated Our Blessed Lady to help us to find the stolen goods. She has granted my prayer. [Then followed the narrative as above.] It is now for you, Reverend Father, to act as you think best."

The good superior on reading the letter could hardly believe his eyes. "Mary," he exclaimed, "has indeed heard our prayers, and I am confident that she will finish the good work she has begun." But how was he to act so as not to excite the suspicion of the schismatics? At the slightest notice they would remove the stolen property to another hiding place. Should he send a letter at once to Mr. C——? After earnest prayers for some time for light and guidance, he decided to wait for the arrival of the magistrate.

Early in the morning of the 1st of June, Mr. C—— appeared on horseback in the streets of Manapad. As the Catholic Presbytery is outside the town, the Father Superior did not hear of his arrival till some time after. In the meanwhile, the schismatics came in crowds and conducted Mr. C—— to a street situated in their quarter of the town where they had previously brought the remains of Father Laurent's palanquin. "This street," they exclaimed, "is specially reserved for us. The Catholics commenced the riot and these remaining pieces of their priest's palanquin clearly prove the truth of our statement."

As the magistrate turned his horse's head in the direction of the court, the whole crowd of schismatics, composed of men, women and children, threw themselves down on their knees before him and with tears in their

eyes, begged him to do them justice and protect them from the malice of Father Laurent and the other Catholic priests.

The case was heard on the morrow, and the Father Superior found an opportunity of speaking quietly to Mr. C—— as he was leaving the court. "I have a very important communication to make to you," said the Father. "Will you permit me to speak in French?" "Very well," replied the magistrate. "What is your new trouble?" "I have discovered the place where the stolen articles are hidden." "Really! when did you make that discovery?" "Eight days ago." "Then why did you not tell me sooner?" The Father gave the explanation and produced Father Laurent's letter. Mr. C—— smiled as he read the word "miracle," but read it carefully and then said: "It is truly wonderful, but too simple and clear a statement to be false. Do you think that the things are still there?" "I believe so," replied the Father; "but if we are to succeed in getting hold of them, it will be necessary to keep the matter a profound secret, even from your most trustworthy men." "Do not fear," replied Mr. C——, "I will answer for that."

The next day at an early hour, two officers of the court came to the presbytery and asked for the Father Superior. They informed him that they had orders from the magistrate to summon the advocate of the Catholics, the mayor, the tax-collector, the guards of the town and the principal men of the schismatic party; and that when they were assembled, they were to proceed to a certain house and there open a sealed order,

which was to be carried out to the letter under pain of severe punishment.

When the people who had been summoned arrived before the house mentioned, the sealed order was opened according to the magistrate's instructions. It was a search warrant which ran thus: "Search this house thoroughly; leave nothing unexamined; and take down in writing an exact account of all that you find there."

This order fell like a thunderbolt on the schismatic party; but there was no means of eluding it. The guards instantly surrounded the house, and Father Laurent's lawyer, stripping himself of the greater part of his clothes, asked the crowd if they thought that he had any articles concealed about his person? "Bravo!" cried out the agents of the court, at the same time following his example.

The house in question, which consisted of only one small room with a low doorway and no window, did not take long to search. The officials found nothing and were about to come out, when the lawyer, getting accustomed to the dim light and dusky atmosphere, caught sight of something like a fringe hanging from the beams. He at once took it down and found it to be a fishing net, in which was rolled a magnificent figure of Christ in ivory. The lawyer, who was a Pagan, cried out: "The Swamy!" (the Lord). "They have put the Swamy in a net!"

As he unrolled the net a little more, he found a second image, with a silver nail through the foot. A light was brought and by its aid the mat was found which the poor man had described to Father Laurent and which

contained the silk banners and all the remaining stolen articles. The minutes of the search were carefully taken down; but among other things it was said: "At the south-east corner of the hut the wall is broken down, leaving a hole sufficient for a man to enter. The articles were then all carefully tied up in a bundle and the mistress of the hut was ordered to carry them on her head to the court. Her husband, who had been out fishing, came back just at that time. The schismatics called him aside and told him that all was discovered, and that he would be severely punished as the receiver of stolen property. They added that he had only one chance of escape, and that was to swear that the things had been placed in his hut without his knowledge by some emissary of the Catholic party, who had entered by the hole in the wall. The poor man promised to do as he was bid and found means to impress the same lesson on his wife.

In consequence, both husband and wife played their parts well before the court, and with tears in their eyes repeated the lie to the great satisfaction of the schismatics. But Mr. C——, though he looked thoughtful as he rose to leave the court, would pronounce no sentence at once. The infernal plot had been well contrived, for did not the minutes of the search declare that there was a hole in the wall sufficiently large for a man to enter?

The next day at dawn Mr. C—— entered Manapad alone and on horseback, and went straight to the hut in question. There sure enough was the hole, covered over with palm leaves. Mr. C—— dismounted, and on draw-

ing close to the hole saw at once, on closer examination, that these leaves were drawn together by a mass of cobwebs, the blackened state of which clearly proved that they had not been disturbed for at least six months. The falsehood and imposture of the whole statement was evident; and the magistrate, whose only anxiety was to ascertain the truth, went away rejoiced at the step he had taken, and fully convinced of the culpability of the schismatics. He then ordered both parties to appear before him in court, when Father Laurent officially identified every one of the stolen articles.

Nothing now remained to be done but to punish the guilty party. Mr. C—— gave a clear statement of the facts and of the way in which he had discovered the imposture. The Father Superior succeeded in obtaining pardon for the two receivers, who had only been intimidated into the course they had taken. But all those named in Father Laurent's petition were punished in proportion to their guilt. The sub-magistrate, the mayor, and the tax-collectors were disgraced and had to forfeit their salaries; while the others received adequate chastisement. "Mary has consummated the work she had so happily begun," exclaimed the Father Superior. "The triumph of the Catholics is complete. Glory to Jesus, her Divine Son! Glory to Our Lady, Help of Christians!"

ALFRED THE GREAT[1]

(849–901)

BY THE HON. MRS. MAXWELL-SCOTT

"He was king and clerk
Full well he loued Godes werc
He was wis in his word
And war on his worc
He was the wiseste mon
That was in Engelonde on."

Proverbs of Alfred,
a compilation of the 13th Century.

Of all the sovereigns who have wielded the kingly power in England few have had such difficulties to contend with as Alfred, a thousand years ago king of the West Saxons, and, later, supreme ruler over the whole of England. Yet scarcely is there any whose rule has been so beneficial and so lasting, and whose name is so deeply impressed in the memory and in the affections of the English people, who, in gratitude and in admiration, have for centuries given him the title of "The Great." It is the story of this king's life and reign that we are about to tell.

Alfred the Great was born at Wantage in Berkshire in the year 849, and was the fifth son of King Ethelwulf and Osburga (or Osburh) his wife, far removed, therefore, as

[1] The material for this brief sketch is taken from the *Life of Alfred*, by Rev. A. Knight, S.J.; *Alfred the Great*, by Warwick Draper; and *Alfred the Great and his Abbeys*, by Charles Wall.

one might have supposed, from the succession. His birth took place in troubled times for England; in the midst of the Danish invasions that ravaged the country for two hundred years and to repel which was to be one of the chief missions of his life. Alfred's four brothers were Athelstane, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred. His sister Ethelswitha married Burrhed, King of Mercia. From his earliest years Alfred gave promise of his future greatness. His friend and biographer, Asser,[1] thus speaks of his boyhood: "Beloved was he by both father and mother alike with a great affection, beyond all his brothers, yea, the very darling of all. It was in the king's court that he was brought up. As he grew, both in childhood and in boyhood, so showed he ever fairer than his brethren, and in looks and words and ways, the lovesomest. Above all, from his very cradle, and through all the distractions of this present life, his ever noble temper and his high birth also bred in him a longing after wisdom." Asser goes on to lament that owing to the carelessness of his parents and "upbringers," Alfred remained "unable so much as to say his letters until his twelfth year, yet he learnt by heart many a Saxon lay, for day and night he would hear them repeated by others, and no dull listner was he." The story of Alfred's first reading lesson is well known, but some controversy has arisen as to his age at the time and as to whether this incident

[1] There has been much controversy regarding Bishop Asser's biography of Alfred. We will content ourselves with quoting the words of Alfred's recent historian: "Shortly then, the Life of Alfred bearing Asser's name may in the light of present evidences be accepted as having the weight of contemporary authority. . . . We must appreciate the few points of weaknes in a proof which is not yet one of demonstration; but, subject to that, it remains a delightful record of the most perfect character in history."—*Alfred the Great*, by Warwick H. Draper, p. 30.

is connected with his mother or his stepmother Judith. Mr. Freeman, indeed, on the authority of Wright, says that Ethelwulf, on his way home from Rome in 856, "married and brought back with him Judith, the young daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the West-Franks, and afterwards emperor. And we are driven, however unwillingly, to suppose that Osburh, the mother of Ethelwulf's children, was put away to make room for her (*see* Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 385), a step which, among the Franks at least, would be in no way wonderful. In no other way can we understand the well-known story told by Asser, how Alfred's mother showed him and his brothers a book of poems with a beautiful initial letter, and promised to give it to the one who should first learn to read it. Alfred found a master, and was soon able to read. This story is placed in Alfred's twelfth year, about 861, when the mention of his brothers is in any case a difficulty. But in no case could we put the story before the return of Ethelwulf in 856. It follows, therefore, that Osburh must have outlived her husband's second marriage. The notion that by Alfred's mother is meant, not his own mother, but the Frankish girl, younger than some of his brothers, whom their father had put in her place, is too wild to be discussed." [1]

But it is not at all clear that we are bound to accept such an unpleasant concession. Divorce may have been common enough amongst the West Franks, but it was not so among the Christian Saxons, and if Osburga had indeed been set aside, it is most unlikely that the pious Bishop Asser would have omitted all mention of this crime in his account of her son. The fact is that very

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography:* article "Ælfred, King of the West Saxons."

little is known of Osburga, and in spite of Mr. Freeman's statement that she must have outlived her husband's second marriage, it is much more likely that she died before it. On the other hand it is not at all likely that the "mother" mentioned by Asser is Judith, Alfred's stepmother, for she was at that time only a child not much older than Alfred himself, and his "brothers" were many years older than both Judith and Alfred, and were able to bear arms. May we not be justified in believing that Asser was mistaken in some of the details of the story—and he can only have known of it at second hand—though he was correct, on the whole. Sir Frederick Pollock says that "the story of Alfred learning to read *is hard to put in its right place;* but this is not sufficient reason for rejecting it, as it appears to be part of Asser's genuine narrative."[1] Sir Walter Besant says that the story, as it stands, is impossible, for Osburga was dead long before Alfred was twelve years of age. But some such story is possible, and it might "be told of Alfred by the substitution of St. Swithun's name for that of Osburh. Bishop Swithun died when Alfred was in his thirteenth year. In that case we should have to take the 'brothers' to mean the companions of the boy. This seems a reasonable theory, if it is at all necessary to account for the story or to find out how far it is true."[2]

The chronicler thus charmingly describes the incident: "On a certain day, his mother was showing him and his brother a Saxon book of poetry which she held in her hand, and said: 'Whichever of you shall the soonest learn this volume shall have it for his own.' Stimulated by these words, or rather by the divine inspiration, and

[1] *Alfred in Fact and Fiction:* a Lecture delivered at Oxford.
[2] *Story of King Alfred*, p. 57.

allured by the beautifully illumined letter at the beginning of the volume, he spoke before all his brothers, who though his senior in age were not so in grace, and answered: 'Will you really give that book to one of us, that is to say, to him who can first understand and repeat it to you?' At this his mother smiled with satisfaction and confirmed what she had before said. Upon which the boy took the book out of her hand and went to his master to read it, and in due time brought it to his mother and recited it."

And Asser continues: "After this he learned the daily course, that is, the celebration of the Hours, and afterwards certain psalms, and several prayers, contained in a certain book which he kept day and night in his bosom, as we ourselves have seen, and carried about with him to assist his prayers, amid all the bustle and business of this present life. But, sad to say! he could not gratify his most ardent wish to learn the liberal arts, because, as he said, there were no good readers at that time in all the kingdom of the West Saxons."

In 853, while Alfred was yet very young, he made a great journey for one of his tender years. Ethelwulf, unable at this time to leave his kingdom or to realize a long-cherished wish of making a pilgrimage to Rome, sent his little son to represent him and to beg the Holy Father's blessing. So, in his fifth year, Alfred went to Rome, attended by a great retinue, bearing a petition from his father to the Pope. Leo IV. received the royal child most graciously, and gave him the Sacrament of Confirmation, adopting him for his godson. This was a grand beginning for the future King of England, and in keeping with his lifelong loyalty and devotion to the Holy See. But another remarkable favour was conferred upon Alfred by the Holy Father, who anointed him

king. "*Hallowed him to king*" are the words. There seems to be no doubt of this fact, asserted by Asser and corroborated by other chroniclers, although it is now difficult to conjecture the reason for this unusual privilege, one so contrary to all English precedent. Nor was it intended to hasten his succession to the throne, for when Ethelwulf endeavoured to fix the succession before his death by a will confirmed by the Witan, Alfred's name only occurs after those of his brothers. Asser, however, seems to imply that he was, during Ethelred's reign, designated by the title of *Secundarius* (probably the equivalent of Subregular) a name which must have kept before the people his high privilege as one set apart and hallowed by the Church for a "special kingship,"[1] and no doubt the fact of his early anointing helped to render his ultimate succession to the throne peaceful and unopposed, when he became king, as we learn, "by the grant of God and the whole good will of the entire people." Sir Walter Besant writes: "It is remarkable, in connection with this design for protecting Alfred, to note that among the English Christians there had never been any doubt or wavering as to the personal sanctity of the Pope. . . . There had been a continuous stream of pilgrims every year to Rome. There was a school at Rome for the instruction of English clergy. Two of the West Saxon kings, Cædwall and Ine, had retreated to Rome, there to live out the remainder of

[1] Article on Alfred the Great, by Mr. Freeman, in *Dictionary of National Biography*. Is it not possible that the Pope may have "hallowed him to king" by a misunderstanding? The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (An. 855) says: "Alfred his third son he (Ethelwulf) had sent to Rome, and when the *Pope heard say that Ethelwulf was dead*, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested in sending him thither."

their days. Ethelwulf himself, during the whole of his life, ardently desired to perform this pilgrimage, which he was not able to undertake until he had arrived at sixty years of age." [1]

Two years later, in 855, Alfred made another journey to Rome, this time in company with his father.[2] The royal pilgrims travelled slowly through France, and were heartily welcomed by Charles the Bald, the worthy successor of the great Charlemagne, and a munificent patron of learning. Ethelwulf probably saw many enviable things in France, then in great repute of learning, which a state of constant warfare had hitherto precluded from taking root in England, where, as Alfred himself tells us later on, "good readers" were not to be had. Benedict III. had succeeded Leo IV. on the Papal throne, and no doubt cordially blessed the British princes. Ethelwulf's stay in the Eternal City was characterized by his pious munificence. He gave to St. Peter's crowns and little statues of purest gold, and costly vestments, besides bestowing a royal largesse on the clergy, nobles, and people. And to little Alfred the visit brought special blessings, in a lifelong relish for praying at sacred places and a filial reverence for Christ's Vicar on earth. After a long stay in Rome the pilgrims set out to return home, paying another visit to Charles of France on their way, and it was then that Ethelwulf obtained the hand of the Princess Judith and entered into his short-lived union with her.

In permitting the coronation of his child-wife, Ethelwulf had not asked the consent of the Witan and had

[1] *Story of King Alfred*, p. 61.

[2] This is on the authority of Asser. But Mr. Freeman (*loc. cit.*) thinks that it is easier to suppose that Alfred remained in Rome three years, and returned to England with his father in 856.

acted in opposition to the wishes of his people, who had a very strong feeling against queens in general. During his absence abroad, the king's eldest son, Ethelbald, together with Ealstan, Bishop of Sherborne, and Eamoulf, caldorman of Somerset, conspired to deprive Ethelwulf of the kingly power; and hearing of the crowning of Judith, they made this the plea for revolt. Ethelwulf's arrival in England, however, put a stop to the rebellion, and he was received with universal loyalty. Nevertheless, of his own accord—or, at least, before he was compelled; for very possibly he foresaw danger—he divided the kingdom with Ethelbald; himself retaining the smaller province of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Surrey.

In 857 Ethelwulf died. His will provided that the whole kingdom should be divided between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelred, the former of whom was to be King of Wessex, the latter King of Kent; his private property was to be shared by all his children. And there was a clause in the will by which a large sum of money was to be sent to Rome, and a third part of it was to be expended on the church of St. Peter, a third on the church of St. Paul, and the remainder was to be given to the "Universal Apostolic Pontif." But the Witan set aside the will in so far as it directed that the kingdom should be divided, and Ethelbald succeeded his father as sole king.[1] That the Witan acted wisely in this, we cannot doubt; for it would have been a national suicide to allow a division of power in the little realm, which, alone in all England, offered any real opposition to the Danes.

In the next few years Alfred grew in manliness and in such accomplishments as belonged to his position, and if

[1] Besant, *loc. cit.*, p. 69.

he was debarred by circumstances from acquiring the learning which he desired, he at least became foremost in all sports and exercises requiring strength and courage. "He was peerless in the hunting field, ever the first and liveliest." He kept ever faithful to his spiritual duties, however, and the youth so keen and eager in the hunting field recited his psalter daily, and took delight in visiting sacred places to pray alone.

In spite of the active open-air life led by the prince, he very early began to suffer from mysterious and painful maladies, which continued all his life. That Alfred realized the benefit of such trials to his soul, and that he had already well taken in hand the hard work of conquering self, we see by an incident which occurred when he was about nineteen. Alfred was riding in Cornwall and had turned aside, as he often did, to pray at a shrine near by. He was suffering great pain; and he prayed, not that he might be cured, but that this particular pain might be commuted into some other suffering which he could more easily endure. This story is probably connected with one of earlier date; for it seems that Alfred, with his high aspirations, and seeing the responsibilities that awaited him, had already asked Almighty God to send him some useful malady, expressly begging that it might not be such as to make him contemptible or unfit for the discharge of his duties, such as leprosy, blindness, or the like. Alfred probably lived with Ethelred, under-King of Kent, until Ethelbald's death in 860, when he accompanied the former to Wessex. In 868, in his twentieth year, the prince married Ethelswitha, daughter of Ethelred the Great, Count of the Gaini. We know little of Alfred's bride, save that she was good and true and worthy of his choice. At the wedding feast, when all the company were about to pledge the happy pair, Alfred

was seen to turn pale and tremble violently. It was the return of the mysterious God-sent malady from which he had been free for a short space, but which from now until his forty-fifth year seldom left him, "for in the intervals of the pain he was tormented by the apprehension of its return."

Three years after his marriage Alfred's public life began. In 857, the year of Ethelred's death, the Danes, having secured a footing in East Anglia, entered Wessex in overwhelming numbers, the first of the three great invasions which it was to be Alfred's honour to repulse. The royal brothers met the invading force at Ashdown, where perhaps the "White Horse of Wessex" then, as now, gleamed white on the hillside. They were hearing Mass in Ethelred's tent when word was brought of the near approach of the enemy. The King refused to leave till Mass was over, although Alfred, judging that it was a time for action rather than prayer, impatiently urged him to attack. Seeing that he could not change the King's intention, he himself led the men against the foe. Round "a lone thorn-tree, and a low, which," says Asser, "we have ourselves seen," the fight raged fiercely, until the Danes, having lost a king, five jarls, and many thousand men, fled. This triumph was by no means final, for in this year alone seven other battles were fought, but its moral effect on the enemy must have been great. Ethelred has been blamed by modern critics for his so-called "misplaced devotion" on this occasion, but we may well consider it in another aspect, one in which we suspect Alfred himself regarded it, and look upon the victory as due as much to the prayers of the one brother as to the valour of the other.

The battle of Ashdown took place early in the year, as at Eastertide Ethelred died, and upon Alfred devolved

all the cares of government. "So soon as ever his brother was dead, he took up the sway of the whole kingdom."

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the following account of the events of this year, 871: "This year the army [1] came to Reading in Wessex and three days after this, two of their Earls rode forth. Then Ethelwulf the ealdorman met them at Englefield, and therefore fought against them, and got the victory; and there one of them, whose name was Sidrac, was slain. About three days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on either hand. And Ethelwulf the ealdorman was slain, and the Danishmen had possession of the place of carnage. And about four days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole army at Ashdown; and they were in two bodies: in the one were Bagsac and Halfdene the heathen kings, and in the other were the earls. And then King Ethelred fought against the division under the kings, and there King Bagsac was slain; and Alfred his brother against the division under the earls, and there Earl Sidrac the elder was slain, Earl Sidrac the younger, and Earl Osbern, and Earl Frene, and Earl Harold; and both divisions of the army were put to flight, and many thousands slain: and they continued fighting until night. And about fourteen days after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Basing, and there the Danes obtained the victory. And about two months after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Marden; and they were in two bodies, and they put

[1] The Danish hordes are often spoken of in the Chronicle as "the army."

both to flight, and during a greater part of the day were victorious ; and there was great slaughter on either hand : but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage : and there Bishop Heahmund was slain ; and many good men : and after this battle there came a great army in the summer to Reading. And after this, over Easter, King Ethelred died ; and he reigned five years and his body lies in Winburn-minster.

"Then Alfred the son of Ethelwulf, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And about one month after this, King Alfred with a small band fought against the whole army at Wilton, and put them to flight for a good part of the day ; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage. And this year nine general battles were fought against the army in the kingdom south of the Thames, besides which, Alfred the King's brother, and single ealdormen, and King's thanes, oftentimes made incursions on them, which were not counted : and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West-Saxons made peace with the army."

It is at this moment of his history that we should like to describe Alfred's personal appearance, and it is tantalizing that the coins struck during his reign, although showing excellent work in the formation of the inscriptions and designs, quite fail in the portrayal of the King's features. The terms in which St. Magnus of the Orkneys is described a century later rise to our mind as a probable word-portrait of our King in person and character. "He was of large stature, a man of noble presence, and intellectual countenance. He was of blameless life, victorious in battles, wise, eloquent, strong-minded, liberal and magnanimous, and more beloved than any other man." [1]

[1] *Orkneyenga Saga.*

As we have said, nine battles were fought in the year Alfred ascended the throne, and then for a brief space there was peace. In 875, however, war broke out afresh, and the year is memorable as marking the commencement of the British Navy. To Alfred belongs the honour of first realizing the value of sea-power to this country, and in spite of later breaks in our sea history, we are entitled to call him the Founder of our Navy. In 875, therefore, we read that "King Alfred in a ship fight on the sea, engaged six heathen ships; and he took one of them, but the rest slipped away and fled."[1] The importance of this new method of warfare, especially in the case of an enemy whose power was essentially that of the sea, was manifest, and Alfred fought many sea-battles as time went on, improving his ships and taking lessons from his enemies' tactics. In 877 he also placed barks and long-keeled boats all round the coast with men to keep "the ways of the sea." His people of the coast took naturally to the water, and he received Frisian sailors also into his service.

In spite of this first success at sea, Alfred had still to encounter the full force of the Danes in England, again eager for attack. So hard pressed was he in the winter of 877-8 that he, with some of his lords and fighting-men, and presumably his family, took refuge in the woods and fens of Somerset, and in the spring his stronghold was at Athelney, where the rivers Tone and Parrett meet—the site where some years later the famous abbey was built by the King in thanksgiving for his safe deliverance from his foes.

To this period belongs the well-known story of Alfred and the cakes, and if modern criticism throws doubt on the incident, we for our part share Mr. Draper's hope

[1] Asser.

that, "old and popular, it may long remain in our history books."[1]

It was at Athelney also that the King had the vision of St. Cuthbert as related by William of Malmesbury. This beautiful legend runs, briefly, thus: One day when Alfred was asleep indoors and his companions were dispersed along the riverside, St. Cuthbert appeared to him and said: "I am Cuthbert, Bishop erewhile of Lindisfarne. God hath sent me to announce good tidings to thee, for England hath already long endured the heavy chastisement of her sins, and at length for the merits of the Saints her children, He hath regarded her with eyes of mercy. Thou also so piteously thrust forth from thy kingly power shall soon regain thy throne triumphantly. And thereunto a goodly sign I will give to thee. Thy fishermen this day shall come bearing abundance of great fishes in their baskets." The Saint also "set free from many cares the sleeping King, and with the same joyful message comforted his mother (mother-in-law)." When both awoke they told one another of their dream, and the fishermen returning, brought in confirmation of it "more fish than could be counted."

Encouraged by this vision, as we may suppose, Alfred made in the summer of 878 what seemed as if it might be, humanly speaking, a last effort for his kingdom. Asser tells us he rode first to Egbert's Stone, east of Selwood; then to a camp near Westbury; and then at Ethendune (probably Edington in Wiltshire) "against

[1] *Alfred the Great.* Sir Frederick Pollock says of this legend: "It seems to have been current within a century after Alfred's death; it is not improbable, it does not seem to belong to the class of stories told in many places of many people, and there is no apparent motive for its invention."—*King Alfred in Fact and Fiction.*

the whole heathen host he set his thick shield-wall, and fought a deadly fight. Keenly and long it lasted, until by favour of Heaven he at last got the victory. He laid low the heathen with a great slaughter, and followed hard upon their flight, with blow on blow, even to their stronghold." Alfred took many prisoners, horses, and herds, and after fourteen days the Danes begged for peace on the terms that the King should name and take from them such hostages as he pleased, giving none in return. "Never before," adds Asser, "had they made peace with any one after this sort."

Another and higher kind of victory followed in the baptism of the Danish prince Guthrum, and he and Alfred entered into a treaty at Wedmore. This treaty was of immense importance, for it went far towards obtaining a permanent understanding with the foe; and Guthrum, who was the most powerful of the Danish princes, now a Christian, never afterwards broke his word with Alfred. The King bound the Danes to evacuate Wessex and part of Mercia also; even in their own "Danelagh" equal justice was to be preserved between Englishman and Dane; and, above all, the suzerainty of the King of Wessex, as lord paramount, was to be recognized by all. The royal houses of Mercia,[1] East Anglia, and Northumbria were now extinct, and thenceforward there would be one King or "overlord," and we may hail Alfred as the first Monarch of all England. For fifteen years peace returned to the country, and we can follow the King in his designs for the improvement and prosperity of his people.

[1] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in its record of the year 874, states that in this year the Danes "drove King Burhred (of Mercia) over the sea, about twenty-two years after he had obtained the kingdom, and subdued the whole country; and Burhred went to Rome and there remained, and his body lies in St. Mary's Church at the English School."

A great task awaited him. The stress of constant invasion and warfare had been such that everything, ecclesiastical and secular, was at a low ebb; but Alfred set to work with the courage and genius that belonged to him. He both worked and prayed, and would fain have turned his attention first to what concerned God's worship; but to ensure such undertakings it was above all things necessary to cement the hard-won peace and to place the defences of the kingdom on the surest footing. The King seems in the first place to have turned his attention to his naval defences, his "wooden walls," and from the many little naval encounters recorded it appears probable that he generally kept his ships cruising in the Channel during the summer-time. We may also be sure that he used every endeavour to make the fleet more formidable. Much later on, towards the close of his reign, and as the fruit of long experience, Alfred indeed began to build ships of his own design to oppose the enemy's *æses* "full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars and some had more. They were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others; they were shapen neither like the Frisian nor the Danish, but so, as it seemed to him, they would be more efficient."

Sir Walter Besant sums up as follows the difficulties with which Alfred had to contend during his thirty years' wars with the Danes:—

"1. The greater part of Saxon England, practically the whole except the south, was in the hands of the Danes.

"2. No help could be looked for from any other part of England.

"3. The irruption of the invaders seemed to know no limit. Even when they were hopelessly beaten, ships

by the hundred were crossing the seas, containing reinforcements.

"4. Every Saxon victory was won with great loss, and every victory seemed barren.

"5. No treaty was kept; no pledge, however solemn, was held sacred.

"Add to these causes of demoralization certain other facts, as, for instance, that there was no standing army as we understand it.

"The King had always at his command the small body of landowners, called the *gesiths*, or thanes. They were bound to obey the King's summons to join the host; they were well armed, and clad in mail; they were of courage equal to the Danes, and in tenacity their superiors, but there were few of them. The rest of the people who could also be called out to constitute the *fyrd*, or the militia, but only by the Witan, were without armour, and imperfectly armed. Now, it would appear that all the Danes were well armed; but, of course, their leaders better than the rank and file.

"The Saxons had no cavalry. This seems incredible, because the country possessed horses in plenty, which were seized by the Danes. If the King rode, his horse was held for him outside the battle, while he himself advanced on foot to the forefront, the most dangerous post in the field.

"The Saxons had no fortified place. I have already dwelt upon the fact that they disliked the confinement of walls; they liked the open air; they wanted to meet their enemy in the field, and not to fight him from the shelter of walls. They had not, as yet, arrived at any knowledge of the vital importance of strongholds.

"The Saxons had no fleet; they had forgotten their

old skill in the building of ships, and their old love of the sea; they had no ships; they had no sailors."[1]

As a military reformer Alfred was also far in advance of his age. He had realized the defects of the old system by practical experience. His men were wanting not in valour, but in organization; his early victories had been gained by the desperate valour and dash of individual bravery; but from this year of 878, Alfred arranged that the *fyrd* or fighting strength of the nation should be so mobilized that while one half should be on active service the other half should stay at home to cultivate the land, and defend the burghs; and his later campaigns were fought by regular battalions on a systematic plan. The King set to work also to rebuild cities and to found others; but evidently he was not seconded in this necessary work with the zeal we might have expected. "He was urgent with his bishops and earls and the noblest and most esteemed of his officers and magistrates, . . . instructing them kindly, . . . encouraging and commanding them, . . . and when other remedies failed, severely chastising them;" and yet, in spite of all this, his orders were executed in a half-hearted fashion. Though Asser's words may be somewhat highly coloured, it seems fully evident that Alfred's strong will was nearly as necessary to save the West Saxons from their own inertia as from the Danes. In the administration of the laws of the country Alfred taught his subjects the elements at least of the art of self-government. He redivided the people, and ordered numerous assemblies, and he divided Wessex into shires, a division afterwards adopted by Mercia and Northumbria. He does not appear to have added many new laws of his own, but by "pruning away the withered

[1] *Story of King Alfred*, p. 115.

and obsolete, and by careful treatment of the healthy ramifications of the 'Code of Dooms,' he has earned a place among the great legislators of his country." He was also, says William of Malmesbury, "a searcher into the judgments made by his officers, and a stern corrector of those wrongly delivered." He established such order throughout the country that it is said of him, as of other English Kings, that gold bracelets could be safely left hung up by the roadside.

We know but little of Alfred's domestic life. His wife, ever, as we are told, a loving and faithful companion, survived him, and Alfred's will bears touching traces of his affection for her, as he bequeated to her the Manors of Wantage, where he was born, and of Ethandune, the scene of his greatest victory. Of their five children, Ethelflaed, the eldest, married Edred, caldorman of Mercia, and contemporary documents show that she took a considerable part in public affairs. Edward succeeded his father, and reigned for twenty-four years. Of him it is said, "It is only the unequalled glory of his father which has condemned this prince, one of the greatest rulers that England ever beheld, to a smaller degree of popular fame than he deserves." Ethelgeofu (or Ethelgiva), the second daughter, entered the convent at Shaftesbury, founded by her father. Alfthryth married Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and was the ancestress of Queen Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, while Ethelweard, the youngest child of Alfred and Ethelswitha, is said to have lived a student life, and legend afterwards connected him with Oxford. We have a glimpse also of Alfred's little grandson Athelstan, son of Edward, to whom his famous grandfather is said to have given a purple mantle, a jewelled girdle, and a Saxon sword in a gold scabbard.

When the King had provided in some sort for the safety of the kingdom, he turned his mind steadfastly to the spiritual improvement of his people. No one was ever less a "Church reformer" in the modern sense of the word; and Alfred has been in this way constantly misrepresented in Protestant history. He was, from his childhood to the end of his life, "more Roman than the Romans," a thoroughly loyal son of the Holy See. He did not attempt to subject the Church in England to his own authority, nor to change her laws, but he did strive very earnestly to improve the education of the clergy and to make them more fit for their great duties, and to rebuild and restore the ruined monasteries and convents. Alfred had long felt keenly his own insufficient education, and now he resolved to seek for teachers both for himself and his people. To begin with, he called to his aid four Mercians famous for their learning: Bishop Werfrith, of Worcester; Plegmand, a monk—afterwards raised to the Primacy; and the priests Athelstan and Werwulf. The King also sent messengers abroad to procure teachers. They persuaded Grimbald, Provost of St. Omer, and John, the old Saxon (not Erigena), to come to England. And now Asser also comes upon the scene, and we have his own account of his first interview with Alfred.

Asser tells us that he was invited to repair to the King (from Wales), and that it was no easy matter to reach him, but after travelling a considerable distance under the guidance of the Saxon envoys, he arrived safely at the royal residence of Dene (near Chichester), where Alfred then was. The King received him most graciously, and asked him if he was willing to enter into his service and live at his court. Asser begged for time to consider the proposal. He was rather unwilling to leave

his home, where he had been trained in learning and had received the grace of the priesthood. So the King proposed a compromise. Would the learned professor agree to spend half the year with his countrymen in Wales and the other half in England? Still Asser hesitated, and after spending four days at court, took leave, with the understanding that he should return with a definite answer at the end of six months. He, however, fell very ill at Winchester, and after this delay, and on receiving by letter the willing assent of his Welsh brothers in religion to Alfred's offer, Asser agreed to the six-monthly arrangement and presented himself to the King at Leonaford. He was warmly welcomed, and the King began his studies at once, and could not make up his mind to let Asser go at the end of the first six months. On Christmas Day, however, Alfred handed him two letters with inventories of all goods belonging to the monasteries of Amesbury and Banwell. "On the same day he made over to me those two monasteries with everything in them, and he gave me a very costly silk mantle (pallium) and as much incense as a strong man could carry, adding that these little presents were only the first instalments of his gratitude. And in effect, he subsequently gave me out of hand Exeter with all its parish in Saxony and Cornwall . . . then forthwith he granted me permission to ride to these two richly endowed monasteries and thence to my own people." Under the learned tuition of such masters as Asser, Grimbald, and the rest, Alfred's knowledge grew rapidly, and, as we shall see, he did much for the literature of the country. At that time the written language of the nation was Latin, the spoken, Anglo-Saxon; and to Alfred is due the patriotic initiative of translating the best-known works of the day into the common tongue. A pretty

story told by Asser shows us how this idea first occurred to the King. "On a certain day," says Asser, "we were both of us sitting in the King's chamber, talking on all kinds of subjects, as usual, and it happened that I read to him a quotation out of a certain book. He heard it attentively with both his ears, and addressed me with a thoughtful mind, showing me at the same moment a book which he carried in his bosom, wherein were written the daily courses and psalms and prayers which he had read in his youth, and commanded me to write the same quotation in that book. Hearing this, and perceiving his ingenuous benevolence and devout desire of studying the words of Divine Wisdom, I gave, though in secret, boundless thanks to Almighty God, who had implanted such a love of wisdom in the King's heart. But I could not find any empty space in that book wherein to write the quotation. I said to him, 'Are you willing that I should write that quotation on some leaf apart? for it is not certain whether we shall not find one or more other such extracts which will please you, and if that should so happen we shall be glad to have kept them apart.'" To this Alfred agreed, so Asser prepared a sheet, and on the same day he found three other quotations pleasing to the King, which he added to the first. "Now, when that first quotation was copied, he was eager at once to read and to interpret in Saxon, and then to teach others, even as we read of that happy robber who recognized his Lord, and the Lord of men, as He was hanging on the blessed Cross, and saluting Him with his bodily eyes only, because elsewhere He was all pierced with nails, cried, 'Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy kingdom!'; for it was only at the end of his life that he began to learn the rudiments of the Christian faith." From this little seed

grew great things for England, and although "mythical tradition" has been busy here as elsewhere, Mr. Warwick-Draper considers the following list of books translated from the Latin by Alfred to be fairly reliable: *The History of the World*, by Orosius, Ven. Bede's *History of England*, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and the same saint's *Dialogues;* while some others, such as *Blossom-Gathering from St. Augustine*, *The Voyages of Othere and Wolfstan*, and others are also associated with his name. Alfred not only presented these works to his people in their mother tongue, but in several cases "edited" them, adding, for example, to the *Narrative of Orosius* some fresh matter, and, as a great French critic says of his version of the *Philosophy*, "under the King's pen the vague Christianity of Boethius becomes a naïve and superabundant faith." One little instance of Alfred's literary treatment is also curious, as showing his national feeling. Boethius, chanting the vanity of earthly fame, says, "Where are now the bones of staunch Fabricius?" Alfred thus renders it, "Where are now the bones of the wise smith Weland?"—substituting the name of the Vulcan of the North, more familiar to his people, and whose "smithy" is still to be seen in a copse on the Berkshire downs.

To the *Pastoral Care* of St. Gregory, the King attached great importance. He sent copies of it to all his bishops, and at least three of these still exist—those of the Bishops of Worcester, Canterbury, and Sherborne. Each copy was accompanied by a very remarkable circular letter from the King, in which he recommends the translation of "useful books into the language which we all understand, so that all the youth of England, but more especially those who are of gentle kind, and at ease

in their circumstances, may be grounded in letters, for they cannot profit in any pursuit until they are well able to read English."

In his preface to this translation, which Alfred begins thus: "King Alfred bids greet Bishop Waerferth," he tells us: "I began, among other various and manifold troubles of this kingdom, to translate into English the book which is called in Latin, *Pastoralis*, and in English, *Shepherds' Book* (*Hirdeboc*), sometimes word for word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learnt it from Plegmund my Archbishop, and Asser my Bishop, and Grimbald my Mass-priest, and John my Mass-priest."

We must now consider Alfred's great works of piety and charity, which would have alone rendered his name famous. One of his sayings was that "Money is precious when it has been transferred to others; with the use of giving it ceases to be possessed:" and certainly he turned his wealth to good account for God's glory and for the poor. The King built his first monastery, as was fitting, at Athelney, the scene of his consoling vision, and to mark his gratitude for the decisive victory of Ethandune. He had during that sad winter of 887 built a bridge, with a strong tower "of beautiful masonry" to protect it, to facilitate the approach to the Island of Athelney, and it is said that he turned this tower into the monastery. In any case he erected a church, which, though not very large, was very original in its character and wonderfully well suited to the swampy nature of the land. Four piers driven into the ground supported the whole building, surrounded by four circular chancels. The plan must have been that of a quatrefoil, yet with the altar placed in the chord of one apse it would be visible from all parts of the church. Alfred endowed the monastery

with the Island of Athelney and other lands, and a thirty-second part of the revenues of the kingdom, besides granting it other privileges. It was built about 888, and dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. One of the most interesting relics of Alfred's reign still in existence was discovered in 1693 in Newton Park, not far from the ruins of Athelney Abbey. It is an ornament of enamelled gold with an empty socket, and may well have been the handle for a kind of book marker or *æstil*, very probably sent to the monastery by the King himself with a copy of St. Gregory's *Pastoral*. In his preface to this book the King alludes to these precious markers. "I will send a copy to every Bishop, and in each book there is an *æstil* of the value of fifty mancuses, and I command in God's name that no man take the staff from the book." This ornament is known as the "Alfred Jewel." On one side is represented the figure of a man sitting, crowned, and holding in each hand a sceptre surmounted by a lily, possibly meant to represent Our Lord or it may be Alfred himself. The other side bears a large flower, and round the edge is engraved "*Alfred mec heit gewyrcan*" ("Alfred ordered me to be wrought"), thus testifying to its origin. After Athelney, Alfred's next foundation was at Shaftesbury. Here the King built the town overlooking the beautiful vale of Blackmoor, and near the East Gate on the southern edge of the cliff he erected a convent, and appointed his daughter Ethelgeofa—who had already dedicated her life to God in religion—as Abbess. The King's Charter of Foundation in Saxon and Latin exists, and commences thus: "I, King Alfred, to the honour of God and the Holy Virgin and all Saints, do give and grant for the health of my soul to the Church of Shaftesbury one hundred hides of land with produce and men as it stands, and my daughter Agelyve, who was already

ordained in a convent," and so on. The third great foundation made by the King, and the most famous in after years, was that of Winchester, but there is considerable difficulty in fixing its date. Asser says that Grimbald was established about the year 895 in the "New Monastery" erected by the King near to the ancient Cathedral of St. Swithun, in which was the school for the young nobles so dear to his heart. This appears to have been a temporary building only, as the present cathedral —or New Minster as it was then called—was only commenced by Alfred's son, King Edward. Alfred also assisted his Queen, Ethelswitha, to build and endow the Abbey of St. Mary, or "Nunna Mynstre," at Winchester. To this convent the pious Queen retired after the King's death. We have considered briefly Alfred's greater foundations, but he supported others as well and assisted innumerable good works. The King had determined to devote half his wealth to God's glory. "Moved by pious meditation he promised to give to God with devotion and fidelity, making the offering with his whole heart, the half of all yearly revenues obtained without injustice or oppression; and as far as human discernment avails for good guidance and dutiful observance, he strove to fulfil his promise accurately and punctually."

Alfred destined one part of his yearly income to the worship of God and the spiritual welfare of his people, the other to their temporal needs.

The half consecrated to spiritual works was divided into four parts—1. For the poor of all nations; 2. for the Monasteries of Athelney and Shaftesbury; 3. for the support of the college for the nobles; 4. for the remaining monasteries in Wessex and those in Mercia, and many distant churches. In apportioning the other half of his wealth, the King showed equal care. It was

divided among the poor, for whom he had a tender love, and among all departments of the public service, such as Government officials, soldiers, and workmen, of whom he had "an almost innumerable host gathered from many nations, and trained in all arts of building known on earth" (Asser).

A large portion of Alfred's alms was also generously employed in showing hospitality to strangers who visited England, and last, not least, in sending gifts to the Pope and to far-distant shrines.

Frequent mention is made in the Saxon Chronicle of presents sent to Rome by our Kings, but when we find Alfred sending envoys and offerings to the "shrine of St. Bartholomew," by which seems to be meant the Island of Cyprus, where the Apostle suffered martyrdom, and to the Church of St. Thomas at Meleapor on the Coromandel coast, we realize the way in which from his isolated kingdom he shared in the other devotions of Christendom.

After considering Alfred's charities, let us see briefly how he spent his own time, no less important to him than his wealth. "The King," says Asser, "mindful of that sentence of Holy Writ, 'He that would give an alms ought to begin from himself,' considered carefully what service of mind and body he might render to God, for he was desirous to make to God an offering of no less moment in this sort than in external goods. Indeed, he bound himself by a solemn promise to devote to God one-half of his service in mind and body by day and night, with full consent, and with all his strength as far as his limited power permitted." The biographer goes on to describe the King's difficulty in apportioning the hours by night and even by day, "in rainy weather, or when the sky was overclouded," till he invented the light which has become famous in history. "After he

had pondered the thing for some time, he chanced at length upon a happy thought and forthwith bade his chaplains bring unto him a quantity of wax. Then he directed them to weigh it carefully against a number of pennies, and when it reached the weight of seventy-two pennies he told them to make it into six candles of precisely equal weight, marked off into twelve inches of length. The six candles so fashioned burned without intermission through twenty-four hours, for a day and night before the sacred relics of many Saints of God which he had with him always, everywhere." It happened, however, that owing to the wind blowing through the crevices of the buildings or tents, the candles did not always burn for an equal length of time, so the King invented a lantern for the protection of the lights made of "wood and horn skilfully adjusted, for white horn scraped thin is as transparent as glass." By this means the candles lighted one after the other burned steadily and were replaced every twenty-four hours by fresh ones, and the King was thus able to regulate the hours given to prayer. A third only of his time was spent in sleep or refreshment and the rest of the twenty-four hours was devoted to the various duties of his state.

Such was Alfred's daily life, and this in spite of constant pain and illness. He "was most patient under the infirmity which he daily suffered," says Florence of Worcester; and, as one of our poets writes—

> "Ease from this noble miser of his time
> No moment steals; pain narrows not his cares."[1]

In 893 the Danes once more reappeared in great numbers, and although Alfred's army was in a far

[1] Wordsworth.

greater state of preparation than in earlier years, the enemy also showed a greater system and organization than ever before. The Saxon Chronicle says that they brought over two hundred and fifty ships, which landed their troops at three different points. The enemy began by ravaging Hampshire and Berkshire. Meanwhile the Danes in Northumbria and East Anglia, in spite of their oaths and hostages given to Alfred, became disaffected, and for the next two summers war was waged in different parts of the kingdom. Winter was usually a time of peace, as the enemy retired into winter quarters. In the winter of 895–6, however, the Danes fell into a trap prepared for them by Alfred. They had taken their ships up the Thames as far as the river Lea, which they ascended to a point twenty miles above London. Here they fortified a camp. The English had meanwhile followed them and, by cleverly diverting the main stream into a number of shallow channels, forced them to abandon their ships. Many of the Danish ships were destroyed, while the better ones were taken by their conquerors to London. The enemy moved away to Bridgewater, and London was saved and the campaign ended, but at the expense of many valuable lives to England. Asser tells us that in 886 Alfred had "handsomely restored the City of London and made it habitable," and after this repulse of the Danes he fortified it and garrisoned the City ; it thus offered a strong barrier to the passage of ships up the Thames and became the "early home of English liberty and the metropolis of wealth and trade." So that England owes her great capital, as well as her Navy, to Alfred's fostering care. In 897 the south coast was once more ravaged by the Danes, but they were successfully repulsed. For more than a century England was still to suffer from such

foreign assaults, but the measures taken by Alfred for the defence of the kingdom made the repetition of imminent danger from this cause impossible. And now we must take leave of this great character. True to himself the King spent the last few years of his life "holding his kingdom in peace, employed in restoring the churches and bestowing alms, in framing laws to repress the greediness of birds of prey, and to confirm the simple piety of faithful men."[1]

The traditional date of the King's death is the 26th of October, 901, and he was buried at Winchester in the ancient cathedral of St. Swithun, to which he leaves a legacy in his will, "Fifty pounds to the church which I rest at." Two hundred years later his body was removed by Henry I. to the Chapel of Hyde Abbey, close by, and, as Sir Walter Besant writes, "there, somewhere among the ruins, still lies the dust of the great West Saxon King."[2] His relics are forgotten and lost, but his memory lives in the history of the country and in the hearts of the people.

"The greatest gift a hero leaves his race is to have been a hero." Mr. Freeman's tribute may be exaggerated, but it expresses well the feeling of the English people towards the prince who—if we take into consideration the difficulties of his times—may be deemed to have done more than any other of her sovereigns for England's welfare. "Alfred," he says, "is the most perfect character in history. He is a singular instance of a prince who has become a hero of romance, who, as a hero of romance, has had countless imaginary exploits and imaginary institutions attributed to him, but to whose character romance has done no

[1] Matthew of Westminster.
[2] *Story of King Alfred*, p. 202.

more than justice, and who appears in exactly the same light in history and in fable. No other man on record has ever so thoroughly united all the virtues both of the ruler and of the private man. In no other man on record were so many virtues disfigured by so little alloy. A saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a warrior all whose wars were fought in the defence of his country, a conqueror whose laurels were never stained by cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, lifted up to insolence in the hour of triumph; there is no other name in history to compare with his."

"THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS"

BY THE REV. JOHN GERARD, S.J.

ALTHOUGH every other weapon in their armoury should fail them, proving when put to the proof but a fragile reed with a perverse habit of running into the hand that uses it, yet upon one point anti-Jesuit writers and speakers feel quite secure; of the truth of one charge, they are persuaded, there can be no possible doubt. Do not Jesuits, as everybody knows, profess and practise the doctrine that "the end justifies the means"? And is it not the acknowledged signification of this atrocious maxim, that when any advantage is to be gained for the Church, or the Pope, or, most especially, for their own unprincipled Order, any means however bad in itself becomes good, in view of the goodness of the purpose which it can be made to serve,—so that it is lawful and even meritorious to lie, or perjure oneself, or steal, or commit homicide, as the particular case requires?

Here, thinks the controversialist, is something like an argument, something sound, solid, and compendious, portable and ever ready for use,—warranted to give his quietus at a moment's notice to any Papist or Jesuit that threatens to be troublesome, like the "Protestant flail" which men carried about their persons in the panic days of the Popish Plot.

Such a belief is undoubtedly very general, and if the man in the street entertains it, we can scarcely be surprised, for it comes to him upon the word of those whom he probably regards as authorities of the first rank, beyond whom it would be idle, if not impious, to attempt to mount. Has not, for instance, the learned Dr. Huber said so in Germany? and. he being an "Old Catholic," is it needful to add that he is in the front rank of theologians, whether for ability or fair-mindedness? Has not M. Yves Guyot lately affirmed the same in France? And is not France a Catholic country? Have we not the daily, or at least the weekly, testimony of religious newspapers, which title sufficiently denotes their character? Has not the late Dr. Littledale put the matter on record in the *Encyclopædia Britannica!* Has not Mr. Cartwright, who once was a member of Parliament, written a book specially about Jesuits, in which he solemnly declares:[1] "We believe it to be demonstrable that the maxim has been broached by an unbroken chain of Jesuit divines of first-rank standing, from Busenbaum down to Gury and Liberatore:" which assertion he proceeds to substantiate by "a series of quotations from writers whose authority cannot be disowned by the Order."—What more, it will be said, can be desired than evidence such as this?

And yet are there not some considerations on the very surface which the merest common-sense ought at once to suggest? Why should the Jesuits thus persist in spreading their nets before the eyes of those whom they wish to inveigle? Why, if they propose to impose upon men, should they be at such pains to let all the world know that they are impostors, that all their pretence of sanctity is a sham, and that none should venture to sup with them unless provided with a very long-handled spoon? Is it usual for swindlers to commence operations by advertising the particulars of the tricks they mean to play? Yet this is precisely what these proverbially cunning and crafty tricksters are represented as doing.

[1] *The Jesuits*, p. 167.

When we turn to an examination of facts, another difficulty still more serious at once confronts us. Whether Jesuit writers have or have not taught, as Mr. Cartwright and the others declare, that "the end justifies the means" - a question to be considered presently—there can be no manner of doubt that these same Jesuits, in common with all Catholic theologians, have taught as a fundamental principle at the outset of their treatises, and in the plainest terms, the exact opposite, that the end, however good, does not and cannot justify the means, if those means themselves are bad.

Before proceeding to establish this assertion, a word must be said concerning the terms employed, that there may be no mistake as to what we are talking about, a point which those who treat of the subject frequently omit to determine.

In a human action three elements are distinguished: (1) The *end*, or that for the sake of which the action is undertaken. (2) The *means*, or the thing done to attain the end. (3) The *circumstances*, or conditions of time, place, and surroundings, under which the action is performed. The means, as being an objective act, while the end is but a subjective motive in the agent's mind, is frequently termed the *object*, not in the sense in which we now commonly use the word (viz., "The end and object"), but to signify the deed actually done, -that to the doing of which the agent applies himself. It is only in its relation to the end that such action is a "means."

The *end* and the *means* alike may be good, bad, or indifferent. Confining our attention to the means, with which we are mainly concerned, some things are good in themselves, as love of God and our neighbour; some are bad in themselves, as blasphemy, injustice, impurity, and untruth; some are indifferent, neither morally good nor morally evil, as reading, writing, art, and sport; and some, finally, though not intrinsically evil, are permissible only under conditions of exceptional gravity,—as the shedding of human blood, or mutilation of the human person. The *circumstances* may impart a positive

character, for good or ill, to an action otherwise indifferent: as Nero was rightly blamed for fiddling whilst Rome was burning.

It will thus be understood that a man who gives an alms out of charity, uses a good means for a good end. If he give the alms intending it as a bribe, he perverts the good means to a bad end. If he steal in order to give the alms, he endeavours to serve a good end with a bad means. If he sound a trumpet whilst giving his alms, he introduces a circumstance calculated to deprive him of his merit.

This being premised, let us turn to some Jesuit authors and examine their doctrine, selecting those by preference whom Mr. Cartwright proposes to put in the witness-box as representing his unbroken chain of Jesuit writers of first-rank standing.

Busenbaum [1] writes:

"A precept forbidding what is wrong in itself must never be violated, not even through fear of death."

[Things thus wrong in themselves being, for example, blasphemy, idolatry, impurity, slander,—as said above.] [2]

Laymann: [3]

"The circumstance of a good end nowise benefits an action objectively bad, but leaves it simply and wholly bad. *E.g.*, He who steals to give an alms commits a bad action on the score of injustice, and does not perform a good action on the score of charity. . . . The reason is to be sought in the difference between moral good and moral evil: for, as St. Denis says, 'An action is good if all its constituent parts are good: it is bad if any one of them is bad,' [4] which means that for an action to be morally good both the *object* [*i.e.*, the deed done] and the end, and the circumstances must be good: whereas if any one of them be defective, it will not be a good action, but vicious and evil."

[1] *Medulla*, lib. i. tract. 2, c. 4, dub. 2, n. 1.

[2] v. ibid. dub. 2.

[3] *Theol. mor.* lb. i. tract. ii. c. 9, n. 7. Mayence Edition, 1654. p. 27.

[4] "*Bonum ex integra causa est, malum ex quocumque defectu.*"

This doctrine Laymann confirms by the following quotation from St. Augustine's *Enchiridion :*

"What is known to be sinful must not be done under any pretext of a good cause, nor for any end as being a good one, nor with any intention professing to be good."

And he thus sums the matter up :

"Whenever the choice [of means] is bad, the intention [*i.e.*, the end] is also bad. In other words, a vicious choice [of means] makes the intention also vicious."

Escobar[1] speaks in terms almost identical :

"The circumstance of a good end nowise benefits an act objectively bad, but leaves it simply and utterly bad : *e.g.*, to steal in order to give an alms. Because, a bad act is incapable of any moral goodness ; for what is anywise bereft of the good it ought to have is simply bad."[2]

The doctrine taught by *Wagemann* is in exact agreement with that we have heard from his brethren, namely, that for an action to be good, end, means and circumstances must *severally* be good, while the badness of any one of these makes the whole action bad. His words, which must presently be textually cited and therefore need not be set down here, will serve also to declare the teaching of *Voit*, who adopted and incorporated with his own work the treatise of Wagemann, in which they are found.[3]

Gury says :

"Three sources of morality are reckoned—1° The *object* of the act. 2° Its circumstances. 3° The end of the

[1] *Theol. mor.* Lyons, 1652, p. 81.

[2] "Cf. D. Tho. 1-2. q. 8. a. 1."

[3] *Theologia Moralis*, Würzburg, 1769. *Tractatus prodromus de actibus humanis.* With the exception of the first nine lines, the substance of which he gives in another form, the whole of Wagemann's treatise *de actibus* is printed *verbatim et literatim* by Voit, whose marginal numbering of sections is, however, less by one, in each case than Wagemann's. The treatise thus reproduced terminates with section 34, in Voit 33, but the latter continues, adding four sections more (34–37), apparently borrowed from some other author, since, like what goes before, they are marked with inverted commas down the margins.

person acting. All of these are absolutely required for a good action. If even one of them be bad, the action will become bad. Hence the well-known maxim, 'Bonum ex integra causa,' &c."[1]

It would be easy to multiply such testimonies indefinitely, but there can be no advantage in doing so, for all Catholic authors, whether Jesuit or not, lay down precisely the same doctrine, and usually in very much the same words, a clear, crisp statement once made being constantly adopted and repeated by subsequent writers.[2]

This, it must be allowed, is a strange method of teaching that a good end justifies the employment of bad means. Yet it is *these very same men* whom we have quoted, who are cited as laying down a doctrine diametrically opposite to that which we have heard from them. How can this be?

It comes about, we must reply, solely because certain writers, sedulously ignoring such plain and unambiguous declarations as the above, have fastened upon other phrases a meaning which in the light of the principles thus ignored, they could not possibly bear, and have given forth the phrases so misinterpreted as being the sum and substance of Jesuit teaching. That they should have found an opportunity of so doing is due to the circumstance that there is a sense in which we may

[1] *Compendium theologiæ moralis*, tract. i. c. iii. art. 2.

[2] Father E. R. Hull, S.J., communicates the following information:—

"I have made a *catena* of about thirty Jesuit authors, from Vasquez to Génicot, all expressly teaching that a good end does *not* justify an evil means. The indirect evidence from this clears the whole body of scholastic theologians—not merely Jesuits—since from beginning to end not a single scholastic writer is cited as an opponent of the doctrine which they all clearly and consistently teach—none, in fact, are cited as antagonists, but ancient authors of the early centuries,—Cassian, an anonymous Greek commentator on Chrysostom, and some ambiguous phrases of Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, and Abulensis. Had there been any scholastics to quote in this sense, they would not have gone so far back to look for objections."

truly say that certain means *are* justified or even sanctified by the end for which they are employed. It is by misrepresenting the scope and significance of utterances dealing with this particular class of cases that the slanderous charge we are examining has been trumped up.

It is, for instance, quite obvious that such things as acting, or singing, or hunting, or fishing, are in themselves absolutely "indifferent." But they may become unquestionably virtuous if undertaken from a motive of charity, to obtain funds for a hospital, or food for the starving poor. They may even be heroic, if heavy sacrifices or great hardships be entailed. These are instances of the end sanctifying the means; or of the means being elevated and ennobled by the end; which, however, can only be when the means are capable of being sanctified, that is to say, as we have been told, when they are not intrinsically bad.

It is no less evident that certain actions which, though not intrinsically wrong, are not usually lawful, become lawful in view of a good end sufficiently serious to warrant their performance. Thus, for the purposes of a just war, it is allowed to kill men in battle: to save life, surgeons amputate legs and arms: for the protection of society, magistrates deprive burglars of their liberty: though it were wrong to support every trivial statement with an oath, we rightly speak on oath in a court of law. In such instances, and in such alone, can there be any question of the end justifying the means: that is to say, when the end is of serious importance, and when the means which it demands are capable of being justified, as not being intrinsically wrong, and being, moreover, proportionate to the end. No end whatsoever could possibly justify apostasy, or blasphemy, or theft, or adultery, or perjury.

It is of such cases, and only of such, that theologians speak when they lay down, as a mere *obiter dictum*, the maxim which has aroused so much horror, that "the end being lawful the means also are lawful," or that "for

whom the end is licit, for him are the means also licit." This does not signify, *as they are careful to explain*, any or every means, but means which are not intrinsically wrong, and which the end necessarily or naturally postulates. The end, in fact, cannot possibly be lawful, unless there be lawful means proper for its attainment. No theologian in the world, Jesuit or other, ever said that the end being *good* the means are lawful.[1] To style it *lawful* is to imply that the means needed for its attainment are not immoral.

The case considered by almost all the Jesuit theologians "of first-rank standing," cited by Mr. Cartwright, viz., Busenbaum,[2] Laymann,[3] Voit,[4] Gury,[5] is that of a criminal lying in prison under sentence, or with the certain prospect, of death or mutilation or torture. Such a one, they assume, is entitled, if he can, to make his escape, for every man, however guilty, has a right to secure his own life and liberty: just as, if condemned to death by starvation, he would not be bound to refuse food which his friends might manage to convey. Therefore, *within certain limits*, he may have recourse to the requisite means, that is to say, to such as, not being intrinsically wrong, the gravity of his situation warrants. He must not indeed, say the doctors offer violence to his keepers, or injure them, or tempt them to sinful neglect of duty by bribery or intoxication. But he may

[1] Boethius, who wrote in the fifth century, and who certainly was not a theologian, still less a Jesuit, and of whom it is not absolutely certain that he was even a Christian, incidentally, as an example of the *major* of a syllogism, gives the proposition, *cujus finis est bonus ipsum est quoque bonum.* (*De differentiis topicis*, lib. ii.) The few moral theologians who comment upon this utterance, observe that the means are assumed not to be evil, *e.g.*, Silvius, Bonacina, and Loth.

[2] *Medulla theologiæ moralis*, l. iv. c. 3, d. 7, a. 2.

[3] *Theol. mor.* Mayence, 1654, p. 75.

[4] *Theol. mor.* Würzburg, 1769, n. 191.

[5] *Cas. Conse.* pt. ii. n. 14. Edit. Ratisbon, 1865. Gury expressly limits the liceity to "*media per se indifferentia.*" Mr. Cartwright endeavours to explain that this limitation means little or nothing (p. 170).

have them provided with a good dinner in the hope that they will be less vigilant after it: or he may play a trick upon them to get them out of the way; and though he foresee that they will get into trouble for their negligence in letting him escape, he is not on that account bound to forego the chance of freedom, as it is not he but they themselves that directly bring their troubles upon them. Also, he may lawfully injure the property of the State, by breaking through bolts and bars and walls,—though he may not, to secure his liberty, arrange to have his prison stormed and all those confined in it let loose: for in such a case his private gain would not be commensurate with the public loss. Nor can he rightly attempt to escape if he has given his parole that he will not do so.

This case, as being somewhat extreme, is a favourite with authors who wish to convey an idea as to how far the principle upon which their solution rests will go. It is, in fact, as I have said, the stock instance, and it is the decisions pronounced regarding it, as indicated above, that have evoked so much obloquy from those who would not or could not understand them in the only sense in which they can reasonably be understood.

There is, however, another example which must not be omitted, affording, as it does, a prime illustration of the method according to which some controversialists can fashion for themselves arguments out of materials the most unpromising.

Amongst the Jesuit theologians called as witnesses by Dr. Littledale and Mr. Cartwright, quite singular importance is attributed to Wagemann, of whom we heard above, but whose name will be unfamiliar to many students tolerably well versed in the literature of the schools. Of his book, *Synopsis Theologiæ Moralis*, there seems to be no copy, or at least none accessible, within the British Isles.[1] Yet Dr. Littledale and Mr. Cart-

[1] It is not found in the Catalogue of the British Museum, nor of the Bodleian, nor of Trinity College, Dublin, nor of Sion College, nor of any other library where I have inquired.

wright both quote it, and quote it in such a manner as to suggest that, unless the former has borrowed from the latter, who was first in the field, they have both drawn upon one common source; while in view of their usual practice in regard of evidence, it might with some confidence be assumed that this source is not the original book. Fortunately, however, it is possible to identify this fountain-head of their information. More fortunately still, it has been possible to consult Wagemann's own work, a copy of which is found in the Royal Library at Munich, with the result that a highly instructive and edifying chapter in the history of literary evolution stands revealed.

Dealing with the question of the morality of human actions, Wagemann writes as follows:

"*Question.* Is the intention of a good end vitiated by the employment of a bad means?

"*Answer.* I distinguish. If the end be intended with direct reference to a bad means, the action becomes absolutely bad: not so if the end be intended without any reference to the means. For example: Titus steals in order to give an alms out of his theft: and Caius intends to give an alms, thinking nothing at the moment of a means. *Afterwards*, through avarice, he determines to give it out of a theft, which he therefore commits. The *first intention of almsgiving* was good in Caius."[1]

Here, it might seem, we have a mere harmless truism, too obvious to merit utterance; yet from such a harmless germ has been evolved an immoral paradox shocking and scandalous to all honest men. In this wise—

In 1874 there was published at Celle, in Hanover, a book entitled *Doctrina moralis Jesuitarum*, compiled by an "Old Catholic" in a spirit of bitter hostility to the Society of Jesus, as we learn from the preface, dated on the hundredth anniversary of its suppression. In this work are collected a number of extracts from the writings of Jesuits,[2] frequently mutilated, always shorn

[1] *Synopsis*, i. 26. *Apud* Voit, i. 19. The italics are mine.

[2] In Latin and German.

of their context, and calculated, as they stand, to create a bad impression. Hence undoubtedly have Dr. Littledale and Mr. Cartwright drawn the information concerning Wagemann, which readers will naturally suppose to have been derived from his own writings. On p. 212 of the *Doctrina* the passage of his which we have already seen, is given in its first stage of transmutation with a few particulars prefixed concerning the author himself—as follows:

"Lewis Wagemann: Professor of Moral, in the University of Innspruck: born 1713, died 1792. *Synopsis Theologiæ Moralis*, Augsburg and Innspruck, 1762: *Permissu Superiorum*. 'Is the intention of a good end vitiated by the choice of bad means? Not if the end be intended without any reference to the means, . . . *e.g.*, Caius intends to give an alms, thinking nothing at the moment of a means: afterwards, through avarice, he determines to give it out of a theft, which he therefore commits.'"

That is all. The phrase containing the whole point of the solution is quietly burked, and the reader is left to conclude that because Caius did not at first intend to steal, Wagemann pronounces his conduct meritorious after he has stolen.

Next comes Mr. Cartwright. He manifestly betrays his entire dependence upon the information about Wagemann supplied above, though he does what he can by circumlocution and amplification to invest it with an air of originality. In particular he tries to improve upon the material supplied him, finishing off its obviously ragged end into such a point as he conceives it ought to have. Accordingly, he informs us as follows:[1]

"In 1762 the Jesuit Wagemann, Professor of Morals (*sic*) at the University of Innspruck, published a Synopsis of Moral Theology, duly authenticated by official approbation, in which occurs this passage: 'Is the intention of a good end rendered vicious by the choice of bad means? Not if the end itself be intended irrespective

[1] *The Jesuits*, p. 168. Italics mine.

of the means: ' a proposition which he thus exemplifies: 'Caius is minded to bestow alms, without at the time taking thought as to the means; subsequently, from avarice, he elects to give them out of the proceeds of theft, which to that end he consequently commits;' *and so Caius is declared entitled to the merits of charity, though he has aggravated the offence of violence by the motive of avarice.*"

Here is undoubtedly a particularly fine specimen of the maxim we are considering, as exhibited in practice. In order to fasten upon a Jesuit author the stigma of so immoral a doctrine, it is considered right and proper to falsify his words, and so make him say the opposite of what he actually says. Such an end, in the judgement of our rigorous moralists, justifies such means.

We have, however, by no means finished with Wagemann, who is made to supply another example even more remarkable. Going back to the point at which we left him, we find that Mr. Cartwright thus continues:

"Wagemann is not a doctor who deals in obscure words, for he says, *Finis determinat probitatem actus* ['The end determines the righteousness of the deed'], a definition of neat preciseness."

The same neatly precise phrase is fastened upon by Dr. Littledale,[1] who exhibits it as the most terse form in which the doctrine is "laid down" that the end justifies the means. It may, in fact, be now considered as the crucial piece of evidence committing Wagemann himself and the Society whose authorities approved his work to the doctrine they would fain repudiate.

Here again, however, it is abundantly clear that the neat and terse proposition to which such supreme importance is attributed, has been supplied, not by Wagemann himself, but by the same hostile writer who was previously requisitioned. But hostile as he is, he is found to utter a note of warning which should have saved our learned friends from the trap in which they

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, art. *Jesuits*.

have both been caught. The terrible phrase, "Finis determinat moralitatem actus," occurs only in the *Index* at the end of Wagemann's book, and accordingly lays down no doctrine whatever, good, bad, or indifferent, but merely refers the reader to the place where doctrine may be obtained, and if we go to that place, this is what we find :[2]

"The goodness or badness of actions is chiefly to be sought under three heads: namely, the *object* [or means], the end, and the circumstances. For an act to be good, it is required that these three should *all* be good : for it to be bad, it is sufficient that *one of them* be bad, according to the principle—*Bonum est ex integra causa, malum ex singulis defectibus.*"

A little further on,[3] Wagemann writes :

"All employment of an evil means is evil ; but, on the other hand, it does not follow that all employment of a good means is actually good."

Such is the evidence which is triumphantly cited as proving beyond question that Jesuits hold the vile doctrine imputed to them, and such is the kind of erudition for which Dr. Littledale has found so imposing a vehicle as the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

It is of course manifest, that even the phrase, as it stands in the Index, contains a large measure of truth. The end with which a person acts must always be *one* determinant of his merit, and in a vast number of instances it alone exerts any positive determination for good or evil, the other elements being purely "indifferent."

A homely instance in which the end thus determines the moral quality of the action is given by a German writer.[4] A schoolmaster flogs a boy. If he does so because the boy deserves a flogging, and it is likely to do him good, the master's action is good and praiseworthy. If, on the other hand, he chastise the boy with precisely

[1] Not *prohitatem*, as Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Littledale have it.
[2] *Synopsis*, i. 17, 18. *Apud* Voit, i. 12. Italics mine.
[3] Ibid. i. 25. Voit, i. 18.
[4] Dr. Peter Henn, *Das schwarze Buch*, 173.

equal severity, because he has a grudge against one, who, being poor, brings him no present at the New Year or on his birthday, the action is unprincipled and tyrannical. It is its end or motive that determines its morality.

Such are positively *the only grounds* upon which Jesuits are said to hold and teach that "the end justifies the means." Such in particular are the "classical instances," by which, as we are sometimes assured, Dr. Littledale and Mr. Cartwright have put the truth of the allegation beyond dispute.

There are, moreover, some extraneous pieces of evidence that should weigh with every fair-minded inquirer. The most bitter and determined assailants of Jesuits and all concerning them who, having been trained in the methods and terminology of the schools, were well qualified to judge of such a matter, have invariably shown what they thought of this particular charge, by entirely ignoring it. In the seventeenth century, we find no word concerning any such teaching in Pascal's *Provincial Letters*,—and Pascal was not the man to neglect such a weapon had he thought it of any possible value. For how little it counted in the storm of obloquy which in the eighteenth century presaged and facilitated the temporary destruction of the Society, may be judged from this, that it is not even mentioned as an accusation in Pope Clement XIV.'s Brief of Suppression, that document which some would regard as the last word on the iniquities of Jesuits. In the nineteenth century who were more fierce anti-Jesuits than Dr. Döllinger and Dr. Reusch, after their revolt against the Church? They specifically and in detail attacked the moral teaching of the Society; but they knew something of what they were talking about, and the idea that any Jesuit ever held or taught that the end justifies immoral means they left severely alone.

So we find an eminent Catholic writer, but no Jesuit, Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his *Claims of Christianity*, treating the whole matter as too absurd for serious discussion, and intimating that the idea we have been considering

is a vulgar error, which only the ignorant or the dishonest can entertain.

Finally, in the year 1852, the German Jesuit, Father Roh, issued a public challenge, offering to pay the sum of 1,000 Rhenish guilders to any one who in the judgement of the faculty of law in the University of Heidelberg or of Bonn, should establish the fact that any Jesuit had ever taught the doctrine that the end justifies the means, or any doctrine equivalent to it. The challenge has been before the world for fifty years; but the thousand guilders have never yet been awarded.[1]

Father Roh added a second clause to his challenge, and with it we may conclude:—

"Whosoever without furnishing the proof I demand, shall in speech or writing ascribe to the Society of Jesus the said shameful doctrine sets himself down as a slanderous scoundrel."

[1] See Father Roh's pamphlet, *Das alte Lied: Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel.*

THE
OLD RELIGION

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I

Prejudice and Desire of Truth

MANY Protestants from their childhood have been brought up as members of the Church of England, others as Wesleyans, others as Presbyterians or Baptists. As children in their churches and in their Sunday schools, they have heard all sorts of strange things about Catholics. They assure us that their clergymen or Sunday-school teachers had taught them to believe that Catholics adore the Virgin Mary, worship statues and pictures as so many idols, and discourage people from reading the Bible, &c., &c.

Now, the natural result of hearing all this abuse of the Catholic religion has been to produce in the mind a strong dislike for everything Catholic, and it is no rare thing to come across Protestants who do not care to what religion a man belongs, provided he be not a Catholic. People of this class will often, to the end of their lives, retain a deep-rooted aversion for the Catholic religion, though they have never so much as taken the trouble to read a Catholic book to try and find out what Catholics really do believe.

On the other hand there are Protestants—and their number is each year increasing—who, when

their school days are over, begin to think for themselves about questions concerning religion. Some have been fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of Catholics who have explained to them what are the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Others have assisted at some service or other in a Catholic Church, and have been favourably impressed by what they have seen or heard; with the result that they have carried away the conviction that there must be something in the Catholic religion very different from what they had, as children, been taught to believe. Finally, not infrequently, we meet with those who assure us that from their childhood they have felt reverence and love for the Catholic Church. In the place where they had lived as children they had so often gazed with feelings of wonder and respect on the ivy-covered ruins of some old abbey-church or monastery. Or in their parish church—which dates back many a long century—there is still to be seen the chapel known as the "Lady Chapel," or there are the remains of a figure of Christ on the Cross, or of His blessed Mother. Hence the doubts that have arisen in their minds as to whether England in olden times held as a nation the same religion as she does at the present day. Hence also that keen longing to know something more about the religious belief of their forefathers.

My hope, then, is that the following pages may lead minds seeking for truth to see that the religion of the people of England from the first introduction of Christianity into their country was Roman Catholic; that is to say, they held the same faith as is held by the Church of Rome, and acknowledged—as did all other Christian nations in those days—the Bishop of Rome

as their divinely appointed head and teacher. This faith continued to be the faith of England till the year 1534. It was only in that year that Henry VIII., by Act of Parliament, had himself declared head of the Church in England in place of the Pope. Thus since the sixteenth century England has been cut off from the old Church, as we shall presently relate, and consequently in the eyes of the Catholic Church Englishmen have but the position of a schismatical people, divided into numberless religious sects or Churches.

II

Catholic or Protestant?

To hear them speak of their respective Churches, many Protestants seem to think that they hold the same faith as that which was held by the early Christian Church. Yet how can this be true? Is it not said in the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church"? We do not say, "I believe in the Holy Anglican Church," or in the Wesleyan Church, or in the Presbyterian Church—or in any other of the many Protestant Churches we find in English-speaking countries. The Apostles' Creed speaks of the *Catholic* Church, and the word catholic means *universal.*

The Church founded by Christ on St. Peter, is said to be universal because she was to be made up of people of every nation, yet all holding the same faith. Now consider the condition of the many Churches in English-speaking countries—England, America, and Australia. You will not find Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, or Austrians, &c., &c., in communion

with any single one of these English-speaking Churches. It therefore follows that the different Churches we meet with in English-speaking countries are not Catholic, that is to say, are not composed of people of every nation. They are simply national Churches, started by English-speaking people, worked by English-speaking people, and their members are English-speaking people.

Protestantism is merely a name to embrace all Christian religions opposed to Catholicism. Protestants do not form one body of men holding the same faith and under the same head, as is the case with Catholics. The Protestant Church, if taken as including all the different religions of Protestantism, is one only as regards its opposition to the Catholic Church. Indeed, fair-minded Protestants admit that there is no unity of belief among the members of any single one of their religions—call them Churches if you will—the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, &c., &c.

There is no such thing as being half a Catholic and half a Protesant. When we say of people that they are Protestants, we mean that they do not accept *all* the teaching of the Catholic Church, for some—as Anglicans of the High Church party—hold many Catholic doctrines but not all. Others—as Anglicans of the Low Church party, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and Baptists—hold but very few. To disbelieve in any single doctrine of the Old Church is to be a Protestant. Of course it must not be supposed that Protestants necessarily know that they are Protestants—indeed many of the High Church party, and others too, would wish to be called Catholics or *English* Catholics. But the country in

which we are born has nothing to do with our being a Catholic. Though we are Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, or Italians, according as we happen to be born in a particular country, our nationality does not affect the question of our being or not being members of the true Church. We are Catholics in the only true sense of the word if we hold the same faith as is held by Catholics all over the world, and if we are united under the same head, the Pope.

Nowadays it has come to this, that nearly every Protestant, however much he may disagree with those around him in his religious belief, considers that the doctrines he holds are those that entitle him to be a member of the Catholic Church. But how can we be expected to admit such claims as these? Truth is one. If two Churches disagree in their religious belief they cannot both be right, and cannot therefore both be Catholic, which means to hold *all* the faith of the Old Church. What, then, are we to think of the members of the numberless English-speaking Churches or religious bodies, who disagree among themselves as to what is to be believed as truth, and what is to be rejected as error? Are all these religious bodies to be considered to be Catholic, though they cannot even agree as to what are the doctrines to be held by a Catholic? Alas! how many, when reciting the Apostles' Creed, protest before God that they "believe in the Holy Catholic Church," when in reality they do not believe in the teaching of the Catholic Church, but hold the faith of one or other of the religious bodies that in such numbers are to be found in English-speaking countries. To be a soldier it is not sufficient to call oneself a soldier; so to be a Catholic it is not enough to call oneself a Catholic.

III

One Faith

All Catholics hold the same faith. All acknowledge the same head, the Bishop of Rome; and wherever they go, they find themselves in sympathy with the teaching of their priests. This is not so with Protestants. Before they attend service in their churches they have to ascertain what sort of Protestantism is followed in the church in question. Care has to be taken to find out whether the clergyman who has charge of a church is a member of the Church of England—of the High Church or of the Low Church section—or a Presbyterian, or a Wesleyan, or a Baptist, or to which other of the different religions of Protestantism he happens to belong.

The Catholic Church, presided over by the Pope, alone is one in faith and therefore answers to the description of the early Church, as it is given to us by the Apostle St. Paul. Speaking of the Christian Church of his day, he tells us that she had "one faith" (Ephes. iv. 5). Now there is no Church except the Catholic Church that has her members all united in one faith, that is to say, believing the same doctrines in matters of religion—no matter of what nationality they may be.

Every Protestant reads his Bible and, as best he can, has to make up his religion for himself. Some Protestants understand the words of Scripture in one sense and others in another. What is considered to be truth to-day may to-morrow very possibly be condemned as error, when the passage of Scripture has been read over a second time. No wonder then, that

outside the Catholic Church it is so difficult to find any two people who can agree as to what should be believed as truth, and what condemned as error. There are, however, Protestants who do realise that to read the Bible without a guide to point out the correct meaning of the words of Scripture, is not the way to provide oneself with a fixed creed. Hence they maintain that all should look to the teaching of the early ages of Christianity and believe what the Christians believed in those days. But here again there is nothing but confusion and doubt, for the simple reason that Protestants cannot agree as to what doctrines were or were not held by the early Christians.

No, we cannot do without a head in Christ's Church, some one to rule us and to teach us what is right and what is wrong. And pray tell me where we are to find this ruler and guide if not in the person of the Popes, the successors of St. Peter, on whom Our Blessed Lord built His Church? (Matt. xvi. 18). It is precisely the absence of an authority divinely preserved from teaching error that occasions such hopeless confusion and dissension among the members of the different religions of Protestantism. What Our Blessed Lord said of the Jews of His day we may with truth apply to our fellow-countrymen since the days that they rejected the headship of the Pope in the sixteenth century: "They are like sheep that have no Shepherd" (Matt. ix. 36).

IV

Who is the Pope?

The Catholic Church holds that Christ did not abandon His Church when He ascended into heaven but appointed St. Peter to rule her and to teach her truth. St. Peter was the first Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome has always been called Pope—which word means papa or father—because from the earliest times he was obeyed by all Christians in matters concerning religion, as dutiful children obey their father. Catholics are sometimes called Roman Catholics, because the head of their Church is always Bishop of Rome.

The words used by Our Blessed Lord, when speaking to St. Peter, make it evident that He meant to give to him the headship of His Church. "To *thee* will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" are Christ's exact words (Matt. xvi. 19). Now we know that even at the present day to present to any one the keys of a city, is to acknowledge him as the lord and master of the city and its inhabitants.

Again, precisely when the Apostles were disputing among themselves as to which of them should be the *greater*, Our Blessed Lord addressed St. Peter as follows—

"Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you" [the whole body of the Apostles], "that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for *thee* that *thy* faith fail not, and *thou* being once converted confirm thy brethren" (Luke xxii. 31, 32). It is Peter's faith the Apostles are to look to. Peter is to be their guide and head.

In still clearer words did Christ express His intention of making St. Peter the head of His Church where He speaks of founding her. They immediately precede those which contain His promise to give St. Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. "Thou art Peter" [the word Peter means rock in the language Christ spoke], "and upon this rock" [thee, Peter] "I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell" [error, and the powers of Hell] "shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18).

Now, a building must necessarily rest for support on its foundations, and to take away its foundations is to destroy the building. If, then, Christ built His Church upon St. Peter, as on her foundations, and meant her to continue to exist to the end of the world, He must likewise have meant St. Peter to sustain His Church to the end of time. A moment's reflection will tell us that as St. Peter in the course of time would have to die, he would cease in person to teach and rule the Christian Church. Therefore this important work could only be carried on by those who at his death were to succeed him in his office of head of Christ's Church. Thus it is that through two thousand years the Old Church has been presided over by the Bishops of Rome, the successors of St. Peter, and to the end of time they will continue to do so.

V

Was England ever Roman Catholic?

This is a question which concerns not only Englishmen but all English-speaking people; for we know

that America, Australia, and nearly every one of England's colonies must look to her as the home of their forefathers. On approaching this subject we may begin by expressing our regret that so many writings were destroyed in the wars that were almost always being carried on in the ages that followed on the introduction of Christianity into England. They could have told us a great deal about the religion of our English forefathers. Fortunately, however, some of these writings were preserved from destruction. Thus we have those of the British writer Gildas, who lived in the sixth century. We have also the ancient Book of Llandaff and the invaluable history of the Church in Britain by Bede, who lived in the eighth century. These and other works more than suffice to prove to us that, with the rest of the Christian world, England was one with the Church of Rome; for she held the same doctrines and was ruled by the same head, namely, the Pope.

It was probably towards the latter end of the second century that Christianity was introduced into England, and it may be safely conjectured that among the soldiers of the Roman Emperors who then ruled our country, there were some who had brought with them their Christian faith. Certain it is that Tertullian, a writer of the second century, tells us that "the homes of the Britons, though they could not be captured by the Roman soldiers, were subject to Christ" (*Adv. Jud.* viii., Migne P. L. 2, 610).

There are no grounds for thinking that the Christian faith of the Britons was in any way different from that of the rest of Christians of those days. They held the same doctrines and obeyed in spiritual matters the Bishops of Rome as the successors of

St. Peter. This we know from the very fact that our British bishops took part in the general meetings, or Councils, as they are called, of Catholic bishops who were in communion with the Church of Rome. Thus the names of British bishops are to be found on the list of bishops who were present at the Council of Arles in France in the year 314, at which Council the Legates of Pope Silvester presided (Labbe, *Conc.*, and Haddon and Stubbs, vol. i. p. 7). British bishops were also present at the first General Council of the Catholic Church, which was held at Nicæa in Asia Minor in the year 325. The assembled bishops in their letter to the Pope asked him to confirm by his authority the decrees they had drawn up at this Council (Labbe, *Conc. Nic.*, vol. ii.). It must be evident that if our British bishops had not been Roman Catholics they would not have joined the rest of the assembled bishops in signing a letter which contained such a request as that to which we have just referred. Bishops from Britain were likewise present at the Council of Sardica, in Bulgaria, in the year 347. The bishops at this Council decreed that no bishop who had appealed to the Pope should be deposed till the Pope had given judgment in his case (Labbe, vol. ii. col. 652). Here again we may argue that if the bishops of Britain had not been Roman Catholics they would not have acknowledged the authority of the Pope to act as supreme judge in cases that concerned bishops from every part of the Christian world.

Britain was in communion with the Bishop of Rome at the date of St. Augustine's landing in England in the year 596. This holy man was an Italian monk, who, with some forty of his fellow-monks, was sent to

England by Pope Gregory the Great to help to spread the Catholic faith, which at that time was mainly confined to Wales. St. Augustine is rightly considered as the Apostle of England, as it was only from the date of his arrival that the Catholic religion began to spread itself over the length and breadth of England. Many Anglicans do not like to have to admit that the Apostle of England was an Italian Archbishop sent to us from Rome, yet as the Anglican historian Canon Bright puts it, "If the title [of Apostle] belongs to the man who first brings home to any part of a given people the knowledge of Christ and the ordinances of His religion, then it is enough to remark that Augustine came into Kent when all the 'Saxon' kingdoms were still heathen. . . . He came thirty-one years before the evangelisation of the East Anglians, thirty-seven years before the arrival of Birinus in Wessex, thirty-eight years before the 'Scotic' mission established itself . . . in Northumbria" (*Waymarks in Church History*, p. 309).

Shortly after his arrival in England Augustine wrote to the Pope asking for his guidance as to how he should deal with certain questions affecting the customs of the British Church. Can we doubt that if he and his Italian missionaries had not found the British Church still holding the faith of Rome, he would have brought this fact to the knowledge of the Pope? Yet there is not a word in all he writes to lead us to think that the faith of Britain was not one with the faith of Rome.

History tells us that Christianity had made but small progress among the Saxons at the date of the landing of St. Augustine. Bede, our Anglo-Saxon historian, attributes the slow progress of

Christianity to the fact that the Catholics of Britain showed no desire to convert their pagan enemies, the Angles, the Saxons, and the Danes, who overran the country, destroying all and everything they came across.

St. Augustine was appointed by Pope Gregory first Archbishop of Canterbury, and acting under the instructions of this Pope he organised the Church in England, and she continued to form one Church with the Church of Rome to the days of King Henry VIII.

All know that the title of Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church is conferred by the Pope only on Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. It will therefore be instructive to mention the names of some of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York who were made Cardinals in the years that preceded the separation of the Church in England from the Church of Rome. The reader will thus clearly see that to the date of the English schism the Church in England was one with the Church of Rome. Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, was created Cardinal by Pope Martin V. in 1428. Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, was created Cardinal in 1457. John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was created Cardinal by Pope Callixtus III. in 1493. Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, was created Cardinal by Pope Leo X. in 1514. This Archbishop was the last English Cardinal before the date of the separation of the Church in England from the Church of Rome in the year 1534.

VI

How England Became Protestant

Till the year 1534 England remained faithful to the religion she had received from Rome, but in this year she ceased to form part of the Catholic Church. This sad event was brought about through the action of Henry VIII., at that time King of England. He caused himself by Act of Parliament to be declared head of the Church in England in place of the Pope. Thus England was cut off from communion with the Catholic Church, which had always acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as the head of Christ's Church in his capacity of successor to St. Peter, the first Bishop of Rome. Henry VIII. died in the year 1547, and was succeeded on the throne by his youthful son, Edward VI. This prince had been brought up in the new religion which was then being started, and it was during the six years of his reign that Protestantism first spread its roots in England.

Following the example of his father, he claimed to have authority to rule and teach the Church in England, and went even further than his father had ventured to go to turn his subjects from the old faith. It was in his reign that for the first time the Catholic service known as the Mass was abolished and heretical doctrines were openly taught in the churches in England. However, it is only fair to remember that Edward VI. was but sixteen years of age at the time of his death and was merely a tool in the hands of his advisers, whose object it was to Protestantise England. During the short reign of

his sister Mary, who succeeded him on the throne, England was reunited to the See of Rome, and nothing contrary to the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church was permitted.

Elizabeth succeeded her sister Mary in the year 1558, and lost no time in undoing the work of her predecessor. She openly professed herself in favour of the anti-Catholic party in England, and had herself by Act of Parliament declared Supreme Governor of the Church in England in all things "spiritual or ecclesiastical." Severe measures were introduced to induce all the people of England to accept the Queen as head of the Church in England instead of the Pope, and to conform to the new religion she wished to force upon them. All the old cathedrals and parish churches were handed over to men who would consent to accept the Queen's new religion—henceforth to be known as that of the *Church of England.* A law was again passed by Parliament declaring that the Pope was no longer to be considered as having any authority in the religious affairs of England. No priest might say Mass or any layman hear Mass after the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1559. In its place a service called the Communion Service was to be used, and certain doctrines known as the Thirty-nine Articles were to be accepted by ministers of the new Church. These articles of religious belief condemn not a few of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, and every Anglican clergyman to the present day has to declare that he accepts them before he is ordained a minister of the Church of England. How unwillingly Englishmen gave up the old faith and their allegiance to the spiritual headship of the Pope may be gathered from the

severity of the cruel laws it was found necessary to make to force them to do so. In one year alone (1603)—the year in which Elizabeth died—a sum equivalent to £4,452,720 of our present money was levied in fines from Englishmen who refused to attend the religious services of the Church of England (Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, p. 366).

All Catholics absenting themselves from the service of the Anglican Church on Sundays and holy days were to be fined one shilling (equivalent to twelve shillings of our present money) (1 Eliz. c. 2). Later on it was enacted that all above the age of sixteen who absented themselves from the service of the Church of England were to forfeit £20 a month. If they could not or would not pay within three months after judgment, they were to be imprisoned until they should conform (23 Eliz. c. 1). Schoolmasters were to obtain a licence to teach from the Anglican bishop, or suffer a year's imprisonment if convicted of not having done so (23 Eliz. c. 1). This permission was not granted unless the applicant was willing to take the oath which required him to acknowledge the Queen to be the Supreme Governor of the Church of England; hence no Catholic could open a school. It is not difficult to understand how it came about that before many years had passed so many thousands of children were being brought up to hate the old religion that their parents had loved so dearly. A fine of £100 might be levied upon any Catholic who within a month after the birth of his child omitted to have it baptised by an Anglican clergyman (3 James c. 5). Any Catholic who failed to present himself to an Anglican clergyman to be married according to the rite of the Church

of England was liable to a fine of £100 (3 James c. 5). These laws to which we have referred and many others of a like nature (see *Faith of Old England*, ch. xvii.) were at last repealed on April 13, 1829. We need not wonder that after a persecution which lasted nearly three hundred years Catholics are so few in numbers—as compared with Protestants—in England and in English-speaking countries. As regards her colonies, at the time England first occupied them, she had already separated herself from the old Church and had accepted the new religion introduced by Queen Elizabeth and her advisers. It was therefore only to be expected that she would bring with her into her colonies her different Protestant religions. None of these religions, it should be remembered, date back further than the days of Queen Elizabeth—as we have seen in the case of the Anglican Church—and some—as, for instance, that of Dr. Wesley—are little more than a hundred years old.

VII

Answers to Questions

1. Do Catholics "worship the Virgin Mary"? This is a question often put by Protestants, and our reply is simple. If by the word worship is meant giving to Mary honour and reverence of the same nature as that which is given to God, we need hardly say that no Catholic in his senses would do such a foolish and wicked thing. Mary is a human being like ourselves, and therefore is not a Divine Person as is her Son. If, however, by the word worship is meant that honour and reverence which is due to Mary, though

a creature, as the Mother of God, it is quite true that Catholics do both honour and reverence her above all the other saints in Heaven. The Catholic Church has always loved Mary, not only because she was so closely related to Our Blessed Lord, but also because she did so much for Him when He was on earth. The love of the Catholic Church for Mary will never equal that which Christ Himself bears her.

It is moreover true that we Catholics believe that the Mother of God, as likewise the angels and saints in Heaven, do not turn a deaf ear to us when we ask them to pray to God for us. Of course, there is only "One Mediator" through whose merits we can be saved, but there is nothing to prevent us from having many mediators of intercession. "Pray for one another," says the Apostle St. James (ch. v. 16), "that you may be saved," and St. Paul writing to the Romans says, "I beseech you . . . that you help me in your prayers for me to God" (Rom. xv. 30). If then it is not wrong to ask others while here on earth to pray for us, why should we suppose that it is wrong to ask the Mother of God and the saints to pray for us now that they are in heaven?

2. Does the Catholic Church discourage her children from reading the Bible? Certainly not. In every Catholic house there should be at least a copy of the New Testament, which can be bought at any Catholic bookseller's for a few pence. The New Testament contains the teaching of Our Blessed Lord and of His first disciples. The Old Testament sets forth God's dealings with our first forefathers and gives us the history of the Jews—their laws and their doings. The Psalms are especially beautiful and instructive. It is, however, quite true that the Catholic Church

teaches her children that they should read the Scriptures in the sense in which she explains them. The Bible incorrectly understood is not the Bible at all—for how can that be the Word of God which conveys to the mind error instead of truth? This is why the Catholic Church does not approve of each one interpreting the words of Scripture in any way he pleases. If Christ guaranteed His Church from teaching error—as we have proved He did—it is only reasonable that we should not interpret the Scriptures in a sense contrary to what she teaches.

3. Do Catholics worship pictures and statues? Our best reply to this false accusation is to give the Catholic teaching on this subject in the very words of the Council of Trent: "The images of Christ and of His Virgin Mother and of other Saints are to be had and retained, especially in Churches; and a due honour and veneration is to be given to them; not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them for which they are to be honoured or that any prayer is to be made to them, or that any confidence is to be placed in them, as was formerly done by heathens who placed their hopes in idols; but because the honour which is given to them is referred to the *originals* which they represent, so that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover our heads or kneel, we adore Christ and venerate His saints whose likenesses they represent" (Conc. Trent, Sess. xxv.).

4. What do Catholics mean by Purgatory? The teaching of the Catholic Church is that none are condemned to Hell except such as die with serious sin on their soul of which they have never repented. On the other hand Scripture tells us that "there shall not enter into Heaven anything defiled" (Apoc. xxi. 27).

Purgatory, then, "is a place where souls suffer for a time after death on account of their sins," as the Catholic Catechism teaches us. The principal sufferings of the soul in Purgatory consist in its being deprived of the happiness of Heaven till it has made satisfaction to God's justice. The Catholic Church teaches us that in consideration of the prayers and good works offered up to God by the faithful, He in His mercy shortens the time a soul would otherwise be detained in Purgatory. We are told in Scripture that, "It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from sins" (2 Mach. xii. 46).

5. By what authority do priests hear confessions and forgive sins? A priest can only forgive sin in Christ's name and by His authority, just as a judge sits in court to try those who have done wrong, only in the name and by the authority of the King. Christ gave authority to the Apostles—the first priests of His Church—when He breathed upon them and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain they are retained" (John xx. 21 and 22). Of course, no confession of sin is of any value if it be not accompanied by sorrow.

6. Do Catholics mean that the Pope cannot sin when they say that he is infallible? No Catholic believes that the Pope is preserved from committing sin, for the Pope is only a human being like the rest of mankind. When the Catholic Church teaches us that the Pope is infallible, she means that Our Blessed Lord will never suffer the Pope, the head and supreme teacher of His Church, to lead her into error when laying down what is truth and what is heresy. It is

then the duty of all to accept the teaching of the Old Church—that Church which Christ founded on St. Peter and which has been presided over by his successors, the Bishops of Rome, from her earliest days. Let none fear that this old Church will ever teach them what is wrong in matters of faith or morals ; for we have Christ's solemn promise that the Spirit of Truth shall abide with her for ever (John xiv. 16), and that He will be with her all days, even unto the end of the world (Mark xviii. 20).

N.B.—For a fuller explanation of the matters treated in this little work, and for a detailed exposition of Catholic faith and Catholic practices, the reader is referred to another work by the same author, *Faith of Old England*, pages 190, price 6d., or 8d. by post. Cloth bound 1s., or 1s. 3d. by post. Address : The Manager, Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.

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IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE
KING'S BENCH DIVISION

Royal Courts of Justice
Monday, 2nd June, 1902

Before
MR. JUSTICE WILLS
and a SPECIAL JURY

VAUGHAN

v.

THE ROCK NEWSPAPER PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

This was an action by the Rev. Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., to recover damages for an alleged libel published in *The Rock* newspaper on August 23rd last, under the title of "Jesuit Outlaws." The defendants pleaded that the words used were not capable of the meaning placed upon them by the plaintiff, and that except in that sense they were not defamatory, and were published by them *bonâ fide* and without malice, and were fair comment on matters of public interest.

COUNSEL FOR THE PLAINTIFF: *Sir Edward Clarke, K.C.*, *Mr. Hugo Young, K.C.*, and *Mr. Denis O'Conor.*

COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT: *Mr. Blackwood Wright.*

[Transcript of the shorthand notes of Messrs. HODGES & SON, 87, Chancery Lane, W.C.]

[The expense incurred in publishing this pamphlet has been met to some extent by private subscription.]

First Day, June 2, 1902.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—My Lord, in this case I appear for *The Rock* Newspaper Printing Company. The position of affairs is this: The Solicitor who was preparing the briefs, and who was engaged in the matter, became ill, and he was so ill that he could not do his work. It was expected that he would be better, but on Thursday last he had to put the matter into the hands of another Solicitor, who has not had time to prepare the briefs. I was to have had two leaders, Mr. Macaskie and Mr. Horace Avory, and we are in this position at the last moment. My application is—and I asked Sir Edward Clarke if he could see his way to accede to it—that the matter should be adjourned for a short time, so that the Solicitor now instructing me might have time to prepare the briefs. I had hoped that Sir Edward Clarke could have seen his way to accede to it. The matter ought to have come on before Whitsuntide, when the original Solicitor was well, and it was adjourned then for Sir Edward's convenience—at least, so I am informed.

Sir Edward Clarke.—I am not aware of that fact. My Lord, this is really a very remarkable application. Issue was joined in January of this year, and since that time, of course, we have been preparing for trial.

I think that this gentleman who appears to have instructed my learned friend, but so far as I know has not yet instructed anybody else, is the third Solicitor upon the Record, so that I do not really feel sufficient confidence in the *bonâ fides* of the application—not, of course, on my learned friend's part.

Mr. Justice Wills.—There is no affidavit?

Sir Edward Clarke.—No, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I am afraid it must go on.

Sir Edward Clarke.—My learned friend is just making a note, if your Lordship will allow us a few minutes.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

[*After an interval.*]

Mr. Justice Wills.—Well, Mr. Young, is this to go on or not?

Mr. Hugo Young.—It is for my learned friend to say, my Lord.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I am in this position. My lay client is just at the moment out of Court. If your Lordship did not see your way to an adjournment I thought I had arranged certain terms with Sir Edward Clarke, but it appears I was mistaken with regard to this, and now my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, offers me other terms. I have not had an opportunity of speaking to my client, and I cannot take the responsibility of accepting them.

Mr. Hugo Young.—It is not right that my friend should say that he had arranged terms with Sir Edward Clarke.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I do not think I said I had arranged. I said I thought I had arranged.

Mr. Justice Wills.—He said he thought he had arranged.

Mr. Hugo Young.—When Sir Edward Clarke was called into another Court just at the last moment to open a case before the Lord Chief Justice, my learned friend said "I suggest" so and so, and the last words of Sir Edward Clarke were "Put them down in writing and we will consider them." That is what your Lordship has been waiting for, and to say that any terms were arranged between Sir Edward Clarke and my learned friend is incorrect.

Mr. Blackwood Wright.—I hope your Lordship will think that I do not want to mislead you in any kind of way. I saw Sir Edward Clarke about an hour ago and had a talk with him then. I am told by my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, and I accept it entirely, that I am mistaken as to what I understood Sir Edward Clarke to say then. Mr. Young is quite right in saying that Sir Edward Clarke asked me to put it exactly in writing. I am sorry I cannot accept the offer, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Then swear the Jury, and call the case on.

[*The Jury were then sworn.*]

Mr. Denis O'Conor opened the Pleadings.

Mr. Hugo Young.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury, I was hoping that my clients would have had the advantage of this case being opened to you by Sir Edward Clarke, but unfortunately he is obliged to be in another Court at this moment on an important case, and therefore I must lay the facts before you. I had hoped just now that you would have been

saved the trouble of trying this case, by the Defendants being willing to make a reparation and withdrawal to Father Bernard Vaughan for this libel upon him which has appeared in *The Rock* newspaper, and of which you have heard, but that withdrawal is not forthcoming and you will have to decide whether in your opinion this libel is justified as a fair comment. The libel was published as long ago as the 23rd of August, 1901, and the Defendants have not thought fit in the action to say that it is true, and therefore they do not allege the truth of the allegations that were made against the Plaintiff, but they say that it is a fair comment. I should have thought under those circumstances that they might have acted now as gentlemen, and if they are not bold enough to come into Court and say that the allegations they have made are true, that they might have said, "We do not make these against an English gentleman."

Gentlemen of the Jury, Father Bernard Vaughan, who is at present one of the Jesuit Fathers, at Farm Street, Berkeley Square, in London, is a member of a very old English Catholic family. He is, I think, the eleventh of the fourteen children of Colonel Vaughan, of Courtfield, Herefordshire, and one of his brothers is our distinguished Cardinal Vaughan, who is so well known. He entered his training—it is called a novitiate—as a Jesuit in 1868, and went through the severe training of character, and of education, which all Jesuits are obliged to go through, before he was ordained a priest, and commenced his duties. Gentlemen, that training is one of a very severe character, because every effort is made in that Order to take care that the people who have to take up the duties which are the especial duties of the Jesuits, namely, acting as priests, and preaching, and especially

in the education of youth, should all be people who are in the highest degree trained and fitted for that work. That training would take some twelve or fourteen years. After that he went to Manchester, and for eighteen years carried on the ordinary work of a priest in that district, performing the ordinary duties that you know a priest or parson does perform in the country—of a clergyman of any denomination attending to the religious duties of a certain district.

Now I think it is perhaps desirable, in dealing with a matter of this kind, to point out to you at once exactly what a Jesuit is. When you say a man is a Jesuit many people have got a sort of idea that a Jesuit is something, so far as doctrine is concerned, separate and distinct in itself; exactly the same as you would say a Methodist would be different in doctrine from a member of the Church of England or a member of the Roman Catholic Church. But that is not so with regard to Jesuits. So far as their religious teaching is concerned, so far as the doctrines which they hold are concerned, they are simply the doctrines of the Roman Catholic body generally. No layman of any kind or description can be a Jesuit. When I say can be a Jesuit, I mean in the ordinary sense of the word in which it is understood as a member of the Jesuit Order. There are certain servants and people of that sort who in a sense may be called members of the Order—what are called Lay Brothers and people attached to the Order for the purpose of doing domestic and menial work—but in the ordinary sense in which you speak of a Jesuit, he is merely a member of a religious Order in the Roman Catholic Church. There are many religious Orders: Franciscans, Benedictines, and various other Orders of monks, who live in communities and attach themselves

to the particular rule of a particular founder for the purpose of regulating their order of life. All those hold the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, just the same as, I understand, that in the Church of England there are Orders of people who call themselves by certain names, and they are members of the Church of England, but for their own mode of life they adopt a certain rule of life, and call themselves by some particular name. So with the Jesuits. They were an Order established especially for preaching, especially for priestly duties, especially for the education of youth; living together in community, observing certain rules and constitutions which are the regulations of their Order, but in no sense in the world holding any religious doctrines different from all other members of the Roman Catholic religion, of which they are only a portion, and all those people, being Roman Catholics in every sense of the word, are simply guided by their own constitutions and rules.

Now another thing I desire to point out to you, gentlemen, at the outset is this: that there is nothing at all secret in reference to the Jesuits. There are what are called their vows, by which they bind themselves to the rules of the Order. They undertake to observe certain things, and all their constitutions are public property. Anybody can go and read them in the library of the British Museum if they have not access to any other library where they are, and one great desire in bringing this action before a public Court is that my learned friend may have the opportunity, when he sees Father Bernard Vaughan in the box, of asking him any of these questions, and making against him any of these imputations which it is so easy to make in a newspaper, where no contradiction can

then be given, and where no explanation can be given as to the alleged sources of information in books, or otherwise, upon which these allegations are founded.

Now, gentlemen, that being so I will read to you the libel which has been published of Father Vaughan. On the 23rd August, 1901, this libel appeared in *The Rock* newspaper ; and I should tell you, in order that you may understand the meaning of it, that for a considerable time attacks have been made upon the alleged doctrines of the Jesuit body, as though they were some doctrines separate in themselves, as distinct from Roman Catholic doctrines ; and a great many attacks have been made with alleged quotations from writers, and matters of that kind, which, as a rule, are generally easily explained by showing that misquotations are made from writings, passages omitted which explain certain other passages, and wrong translations of the Latin, in which some of them were originally written. Those are all matters which I need say nothing about. Let them say what they like on such points : they do nobody any very great harm ; but at last several papers made personal attacks upon individuals, and you will understand that that is a very different thing. It is open to anybody to attack matters of religious teaching or political teaching, or anything of that kind, as much as they like, but when they come to make personal attacks upon individuals it is an entirely different matter.

The Chatham and Rochester News had made an attack upon Father Bernard Vaughan, and had alleged that as a Jesuit he had taken a certain form of oath. That was absolutely false, and Father Vaughan brought an action for libel against *The Chatham and Rochester News* for alleging that he had taken that oath which was one that,

if he had taken it, would rather seem to show he was a person against whom certain things could have been said. But, gentlemen, the simple answer was, "I never took such an oath. There is no such oath. There is no such oath ever thought of or known among the Jesuits." In that action there was an apology, and the costs were paid. Then another libel appeared against another Jesuit, Father Gerard, also of Farm Street, a gentleman well known from his very high attainments as a writer; and it was alleged that his word was not to be taken for anything he said. Again in that action there was an apology, a payment of money into Court, and the costs of the action were paid.

Now that being the position on the 23rd of August this libel was published. The gentleman was, of course, indignant because those apologies and those withdrawals had been made of allegations for which there was no foundation, and which they knew they could not face and justify in open Court. The libel was headed "Jesuit Outlaws," and runs as follows: "Words fail to express the amazement with which I hear of the various actions taken and threatened by Jesuits in this country. Pray, sir, have we, as a nation, completely abandoned even ordinary common sense? Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the British public that Jesuits are outlaws, and their pretended 'actions' null and void?" Gentlemen, that is an allegation that a Jesuit in this country has no right at all to bring any action. It is a very extraordinary proposition to put forward, but I will tell you just what the foundation for that is. Some years ago, in the year 1829, before most of us were born, there was an Act of Parliament which was passed giving a considerable measure of relief to the Roman Catholic subjects of this

country in matters where they had been under very great restrictions before, but in that Act of Parliament it was thought right not to withdraw the restrictions so far as concerned various religious bodies—not Jesuits only, but various religious communities of men who were established in this country; and without taking you in detail through the Act of Parliament, which was considered only very recently before the Lord Chief Justice and two other Judges in a case of *The King* v. *Kennedy*, I may tell you generally what the effect of that Act was. The effect of that Act was this: that religious men who were in the country at that time in 1829 had to register their names, and then, having registered their names, they might remain in the country. There was also a law passed that none of these gentlemen who had been admitted members of these religious Orders out of the country were to be allowed to come into the country; and there was another law that no members of these Orders, of which the Jesuits were one, were to be admitted members of the Order in this country, and if they did break that law they were liable to be sent out of the country—"banished for life" were the words of the Act of Parliament—that is, if they were convicted. But, of course, as you know, gentlemen, nobody in this country is entitled to say to a person "You are a thief" unless he has been convicted and proved to be a thief; and even if one of these Jesuits, or a member of any other Order, had come within that law so that he had to be banished the country, until that order had been made, and until that conviction and banishment had been recorded against him, in no sense of the word could he be called an outlaw, and even then (under the direction of my Lord) I should say it was not open

to anybody to allege all sorts of injurious things against his character, and, if they were alleged against him he would have redress. But, gentlemen, let me tell you this : From the year 1829, although it has been known that members of these different Orders were in the country, and although it has been recognized, and they have taken part in the public work of the country in many ways, no single prosecution has ever been brought against any one of those gentlemen for either coming to this country as a member of an Order or for being admitted in this country. There is no doubt that in some ways it might be said to be a useful provision to keep on the shelf ready for use if the occasion arose ; but these are not times when we attack people and banish people for their religious opinions, and so long as the members of these religious Orders go on as they have been doing now for many years, conducting themselves as English gentlemen, doing spiritual work in the country, and in the education of youth, and causing nobody any trouble or annoyance, you will not be surprised to hear that those laws have not been enforced, and, gentlemen, they never have been enforced. An attempt was made some little time ago to proceed under that Act, but the Magistrate before whom it came exercised his discretion in refusing to issue a summons. That came before the Lord Chief Justice, as I mentioned just now, and two other Judges, and they upheld the decision of the Magistrate, and would not direct, as was asked, that an order should be made that the Magistrate should be compelled to issue a summons in that case.

Now, gentlemen, that is the only justification for the allegation that Father Bernard Vaughan is an outlaw, and not entitled to redress if he is libelled. Then it

goes on : "We read with pain the letter in *The Ladies' League Gazette*, in which Mr. Thurston (S.J.) was permitted to insult our illustrious dead by terming Robert Ware a 'convicted forger,' and, by inference, to defame the memories of many of our most eminent men of letters—all of them men both hated and dreaded by the infamous sons of Loyola." Loyola was the founder of the Order of Jesuits, and they are called "infamous sons of Loyola." Gentlemen, I need not take you through the matters of literary controversy in which Father Thurston engaged, but I only point out that that is used in order to point a finger against all Jesuits by calling them infamous. "These supplied Sir James Ware with documents, and their honour was never questioned by their own contemporaries, either at home or abroad. Against them Jesuit calumny has for the first time in history been accorded an even partial hearing. Emboldened by the impunity of success, this outlaw next calls upon the editor of *The Ladies' League Gazette* for an apology, and threatens the committee of the Ladies' League with legal proceedings, in order to ascertain what protection the laws of their country afford the Jesuits." Then there was a footnote put to that which I ought to read now—it is at the end of the Statement of Claim : "See their constitutions, where, it is said, in more than five hundred places they are told to regard their General as God. See also the Papal Bulls dispensing them from all obedience to temporal rulers." Gentlemen, let me say this at once, that these allegations in the way they are put forward—I will not stop to explain them or go into a controversy with you—are not true, and Father Bernard Vaughan shall go into the box and say so. It is not for me to take him through all these allegations, but any one, or

any number that my learned friend desires to ask Father Vaughan about he will give his answer, which will show it is a gross libel and calumny to impute things of the sort to Father Bernard Vaughan as a Jesuit, as he is, and an English gentleman in this country. Then it goes on—"The Jesuits! Men who own no nationality, no law save the will of their own General, who were the sole cause of two revolutions here, and who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion and to another civil war; men who introduced the shameful Canon Law of Rome into Ireland, and who are directly accountable for all the bloodshed which necessarily followed (see Lord R. Montagu's *Scylla or Charybdis*, Miss Cusack's *Black Pope*, Massey's *Secret History of Romanism*, &c., &c., &c.); men who have defied all authority, and to whom we owe the whole of our present troubles and perplexities! The Jesuits claim 'protection' against the free Press and against that free speech to gain which our ancestors shed their blood! 'The revolution of 1868 was made to the cry of "Death to the Jesuits,"' writes the Jesuit historian, Joly. 'England had waded through a sea of blood to obtain liberty of conscience' (*Poor Gentlemen of Liege*, vol. vi. pp. 75–6). We have looked for a crushing rejoinder from the Ladies' League, but so far we have been disappointed." Now, gentlemen, we come to where the application of all these charges against the Jesuits is pointed against Father Vaughan. "Consequently another of these outlaws, Mr. Bernard Vaughan (one steeped in sedition) 'commences an action' against the editor of *The Chatham and Rochester News*. Why has the truth been kept from that editor? that is, that even were the Oath proved false (and it never was) Jesuits

cannot be libelled. They are outlaws, and outlaws have no legal rights, either as corporations or as individuals." Just let me point out that though the libel contains this allegation, though the libel says, "Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the public that all these actions are null and void," when they are brought to book—when this case is brought into Court they themselves dare not come forward, and have not come forward, to say that this action does not lie, and to raise that point.

Mr. Macaskie.—My Lord, within the last five minutes I have had a brief in this matter on behalf of the Defendants put into my hands. I understand that an application has already been made to your Lordship for an adjournment in this case, which would be, of course, I know, a very great indulgence; but, my Lord, I do feel that under the circumstances it is impossible, without an adjournment, to effectually deal with this case, and I would, although I understand an application has been made without, offer to pay the costs of the day.

Mr. Justice Wills.—No, there has been no ground alleged for it. Certain statements have been made, but they are statements which, if they were to be acted upon, ought to have been made on affidavit, and there is no excuse for their not being on affidavit; therefore, of course, I cannot act upon them. The case must go on.

Mr. Macaskie.—I think I could prove by the gentleman who, I understand, is the editor, or managing director, of the Defendant Company that he has had occasion to change his solicitors.

Mr. Justice Wills.—But it is too late. He ought to have made a proper affidavit at the proper time.

Mr. Macaskie.—Of course your Lordship must decide it, but I should have thought that no injustice could be

done to the other side by any adjournment until to-morrow morning upon the terms of every penny of detriment being reimbursed to them.

Mr. Justice Wills.—By to-morrow morning—and this case is not likely to be finished by then—you will be in a position to go on?

Mr. Macaskie.—What I feel about that is this, that within a very few minutes my learned friend will have concluded his opening, and it will be exceedingly difficult for me then and there, without having read the brief, or the proofs—I do not know whether I have any proofs—to cross-examine the Plaintiff, or any other witness put into the box.

Mr. Justice Wills.—You must wait and see. No ground whatever has been suggested for delay, and there is no material here for making this application.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I desire to leave myself in your Lordship's hands about the matter. I should be very sorry indeed for it to be suggested that for any reason——

Mr. Justice Wills.—Now that we have begun let us go on, at all events until the time comes for cross-examining.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I desire to say that I am quite willing that the case should stand over for my learned friend, although I do not understand how he comes to be in the position in which he is. I am perfectly willing to leave myself in your Lordship's hands entirely, and I will not oppose his application at all.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I have no other case in my paper to-day, and I must go on with it until it becomes necessary to adjourn it.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I do not want it to be suggested

that I am anxious to put my learned friend in an awkward position, and I would consent. I should like this case to be thoroughly dealt with. Why this was left to the last moment like this I do not understand.

Now, gentlemen, that is the libel which they have published, and I was pointing out to you that they have not attempted to allege the truth, they have not attempted to prove that Father Bernard Vaughan is not in every shape or form a perfectly loyal and good subject of His Majesty, like all the other Jesuits I believe to be in this country. I defy my learned friend, whatever his instructions are at any time—and I should like him to be fully instructed upon the point, in order that it may be thoroughly threshed out—to point to anything which indicates that it is right or fair to allege, as this does, that the Jesuits own no nationality ; that they own no will except the will of their own General ; and that they are steeped in sedition, or any other of the imputations which are made. Gentlemen, it will be found that their preaching and their teaching is obedience to the law and respect to princes and kings in every shape and form. It is suggested here that they regard nobody but their own General, and the obedience which they owe to the head of their Order is often pointed to as though it was something most anomalous and something most extraordinary. The obedience that they owe to their General is of the nature of the obedience that every soldier owes to his General, and that everybody who belongs to any sort of institution must owe to the person who has to direct their movements. The suggestion that they owe any obedience to their General when it becomes a question of his ordering them to do something that is sinful or wrong is another matter. My learned friend will inquire, and he will find

that there is no such suggestion of anything of that sort; but in matters of discipline, as to ordering them to go here, there, and everywhere as they may be ordered to go—to the furthest parts of the earth to preach the Gospel—there is, of course, discipline. In these matters which are mere matters of guidance, and not directing them to do that which is wrong, then as a general rule they owe obedience to their General in the same way as, I say, a soldier owes obedience to his General in the field.

Now, gentlemen, the answer they make to this is simply this: They first of all say they do not admit they printed and published it. Well, they have since admitted that they did. We had to deliver interrogatories to them; they would not admit it until we delivered interrogatories in order to compel them to answer on oath, and when they had to do that, they said, Do not serve the interrogatories on us—we will admit it. It went into Chambers, and that Order would have been made, but they admitted they did print it. Then they deny "that the said words are capable of the meaning alleged in paragraph 2 of the statement of claim or of any other defamatory meaning." What it was alleged they meant, and I think you will agree it is a fair interpretation, was this: "Meaning thereby that the Plaintiff was a seditious and disloyal person who repudiated all obligation to obey the laws of England and who incited the Roman Catholic subjects of the King to rebellion and civil war and was an infamous person with no legal rights who could be libelled with impunity." Then they say, "The said words without the said alleged meaning are not defamatory of the Plaintiff. The said words if published formed part of a letter written to the editor of *The Rock* newspaper by

a correspondent on a matter of public concern, and the said words were published, if at all, *bonâ fide* and without malice, and the position and character of the Plaintiff were and are matters of public interest, and the Defendants will at the trial crave leave to refer to the whole of the said letter." Of course they are entitled to have the whole of the said letter, and if it is not all set out in the statement of claim it certainly shall be put before you if they wish it.

Gentlemen, in commenting upon a matter of public interest—and I will allow for the purpose of argument that the position of a Jesuit may be such a matter—they are not allowed to make imputations upon his personal character and upon his personal honour, and say he is a seditious person ; that he incites to rebellion ; breaks the laws of the country, and does not recognize the laws of the country—they are not allowed to make those sort of imputations by way of what they call comment unless they are founded on fact, and if they are founded on fact should have come forward to prove those facts ; but if they are not founded on fact, as we must assume because they have not ventured to allege they are true, why in the world do they stand here and still seem, as it were, to persist in making these imputations upon a respectable English gentleman when they do not allege they have any proof to support them ?

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer in opening this case before you, because I shall see more what line my learned friend takes when he has an opportunity of cross-examining Father Bernard Vaughan. All I can say is that if anybody knows anything about the Jesuits it is Father Bernard Vaughan. My learned friend may take it from me that he is a person who is

thoroughly acquainted with everything; he is a member of the Order as fully as he can be a member of the Order; he is fully acquainted with everything they do, the nature of the vows they take, the nature of the constitutions which form the basis of their Order, all of which are matters which I say are not secret, but which may be read in the British Museum by you, or anybody in Court, to-morrow morning, and he will explain any matter to my learned friend in connection with them. He is open to attack on all points, and he has sought this occasion of having an opportunity in public Court of answering these and many other foul calumnies which are hurled against him and other members of his Order.

FATHER BERNARD VAUGHAN SWORN.

Examined by Mr. Denis O'Conor.

Q.—You are the Plaintiff in this action?

A.—I am.

Q.—You are, I think, the seventh son of Colonel Vaughan, of Courtfield?

A.—Yes.

Q.—The Vaughans are descendants of Margaret Pole, the Plantagenet, who was executed in the Tower for her religion in 1541?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You were admitted to be a Jesuit in 1868?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And since then you have been in the Order or Society of Jesus?

A.—I have.

Q.—You have taken a prominent part in that Society?

A.—I have.

Q.—Will you tell me what positions you have occupied, and where you have been?

A.—Since I first joined?

Q.—You were admitted in 1868?

A.—In 1868 I took my first simple vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. After my vows I spent three years in the study of philosophy at one of our colleges for the purpose. Then I was teaching at Stonyhurst College, in Lancashire, for two years. After that I went to another college of ours called Beaumont College, Old Windsor, where I taught boys the humanities for four years, I think. After that I went to St. Beunos, in North Wales, to study my theology, and I was in theology for four years, at the end of three years being ordained. After that I went to Beaumont College again on the staff of authority, and at the end of that year I was what I may call put through the mill again—that is, I went back again for another year to the noviceship, where my time was principally taken up in all sorts of work, household work and spiritual work, but not much study or teaching.

Q. After that where did you go?

A.—Studying the institute of the Society amongst other things. Then at the end of that time I went to the Holy Name, Manchester, and I was at that church, I think, about eighteen years, being Rector of the church and of the various houses in connection with the church.

Q.—And doing missionary work?

A.—Doing missionary work principally. That was till a year ago. After that I left Manchester, and was translated to the staff at 114, Mount Street, which works the church in Farm Street.

Q.—You are there now?

A.—I am there on the staff now.

Q.—During all these years you have had full opportunity of knowing the Jesuit constitutions, their rules and the vows they take, and so on, and is it in any way true to say that the Jesuits, or that you, as a Jesuit, teach disloyalty?

A.—No; I was going to say we were what many people would think Jingoes.

Q.—You have read this article in *The Rock* about which you brought the action?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are the suggestions there made either true as regards

yourself, or true as regards any of the Jesuits that you have known?

Mr. Macaskie.—This is not a class action.

Mr. Denis O'Conor.—No. (To the witness.)—It is perfectly untrue to say either that you are disloyal, or that you in any way encourage revolution or get people to perpetrate crimes, and so on?

A.—Absolutely untrue of myself as of every other member I ever met.

Mr. Macaskie.—Now I am in your Lordship's hands.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Can you get some distance with your cross-examination?

Mr. Macaskie.—Really, my Lord, I do not think I can. I am exceedingly sorry, and so far as money can avail of course the other side ought to be reimbursed every penny of the expense they are put to.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Then we will go on at half-past ten to-morrow morning.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am much obliged to your Lordship.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Of course, if any additional expense should be proved I reserve that to the end.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am much obliged.

Mr. Justice Wills.—If there had been any affidavit I should have listened to this application at the proper time, but I think there is no excuse whatever.

Mr. Macaskie.—I in no way venture to differ from what your Lordship has said.

[*Adjourned to to-morrow morning at* 10.30.]

Father Vaughan in the Witness-Box.

Father Bernard Vaughan, having in his examination-in-chief by Mr. Denis O'Conor, given particulars as to his entrance into the Society and the employments he has fulfilled in it, was cross-examined by Mr. Macaskie, K.C.

Q.—You are a natural-born British subject, are you not?

A.—I am.

Q.—How long have you been a member of the Society of Jesus?

A.—Since 1868.

Q.—You were admitted in 1868, I think?

A.—I took my first vows in 1868.

Q.—Does that constitute admission?

A.—Yes; up to that it is a noviceship that we pass through.

Q.—Have you a licence from the Secretary of State to reside in this country?

A.—No direct licence.

Q.—Have you any indirect licence?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And what is it, may I ask?

A.—I should say this—that the law against us is a very technical law, and that on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell this law was never meant to be put in force unless it was set in motion by the Attorney-General.

Q.—Your view is that these eminent personages may overrule the Statute?

A.—That is not my view.

Q.—Be that as it may, have you got any licence from the Secretary of State?

A.—I have not.

Mr. Justice Wills.—He has already said so.

Q.—When was your attention first drawn to this letter?

A.—I fancy in the week when it was published.

Q.—I suppose I may take it that you are not a reader of *The Rock?*

A.—I sometimes read it when I want a little fun. (Laughter.)

Q.—You do not read it for "improvement"?

A.—Oh, not to improve my mind. (Laughter.)

Q.—I suppose you do not recommend your pupils or your flock to read it?

A.—I treat it with silent contempt.

Q.—I suppose you would not approve of their reading it?

A.—If they liked to read it, I think it would do them no harm.

Q.—You do not, I say, recommend them to read it?

A.—No.

Q.—Would you approve of their reading it?

A.—Yes, I should quite approve of their reading it.

Q.—Do you know Mr. Thurston, a member of your Society?

A.—If you mean Father Thurston, I know him.

Q.—Had he been corresponding in *The Ladies' League Gazette?*

A.—I think he wrote a letter or two.

Q.—Making an attack, we need not trouble whether it was right or wrong, on one Mr. Robert Ware?

A.—I should not say making an attack upon him, but rather answering his difficulties.

Q.—At all events it was not a very complimentary letter to Mr. Ware?

A.—I really cannot tell you, because I forget the details of it.

Q.—Do you know that he had called on *The Ladies' League Gazette* for an apology, and threatened legal proceedings?

A.—Yes, I think so.

Q.—Do you know what kind of paper it is?

A.—I should say it was emphatically a Low Church paper.

Q.—You yourself, in consequence of something written in *The Chatham and Rochester News*, brought an action against that paper which was afterwards settled?

Mr. Hugo Young.—My learned friend should not say it was settled; they apologized and paid the costs.

Q.—Were there any damages? Did you get any damages? My learned friend wishes to have the terms.

A.—I forget about the damages. I do not know whether there was £10 or not.

Q.—In this letter of which you complain I see this quotation from the Act of 1829:—

> "And be it further enacted, that if any Jesuit, or member of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, shall, after the commencement of this Act, come into this realm, he shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life."

A.—Yes.

Q.—Were you aware of the terms of the Act of 1829 when you were admitted?

A.—Do you mean when I was admitted into the Society?

Q.—Yes.

A.—Well, I had heard something about it; but, as I said, it had never been put into operation.

Mr. Macaskie.—I will not trouble you to repeat what you said. Have you since heard more particularly what the terms of the Statute are?

A.—Yes, I have heard more about it.

Q.—I see the letter of which you complain says this: "Upon this Joly coolly remarks, 'the Jesuits knew that it was particularly directed against themselves, but they made no account of it'" (vol. v.). Who is Joly?

A.—I have no idea who or what he is.

Q.—Then it goes on:—

> "The present 'Relief Bill,' generally known as the 'Jesuit Relief Bill,' aims at the total abolition of the above clause, with some others of the few remaining barriers against the Papal invasion."

Was there a Bill, then pending in Parliament, for the purpose, among other things, of repealing that Section?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—You have made no inquiry whether there was a Bill such as I have indicated here, called the Relief Bill, then pending in Parliament?

A.—No.

Q.—Either for the purpose of amending the Act of 1829, or of giving any other relief?

A.—I have really neither bothered or inquired about the matter.

Q.—Now, turning to the last paragraph I see the words: "Following the example of Messrs. Thurston and Vaughan, Mr. Gerard announces his intention of vindicating his character by taking action against *The Methodist Weekly*." That was so?

A.—Yes, that was so.

Q.—*The Methodist Weekly* had said something about the Jesuits also, had it not?

A.—Yes, I believe it had.

Q.—Now did you notice when you read this correspondent's

letter that it appeared not as an article but as a letter to the editor?

A.—I really forget all about that detail.

Q.—You attach so little importance to this tremendous libel that you forget all about it?

A.—I forget all the details about it: whether it appeared as an article or as a letter I can't say.

Q.—You know now that it was not an article but a letter in the correspondents' column?

A.—You tell me it was a letter in the correspondents' column.

Q.—Do you doubt it?

A.—No, I believe it.

Q.—You believe it?

A.—Yes.

Q.—And I suppose you know also that the letters which there appear are headed by the following warning words at the top of the column: "Letters to the Editor. The Editor disclaims responsibility for opinions expressed in these columns." You know that?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Therefore I suppose you took this letter as expressing the opinion not of the editor of the paper, but of the correspondent who had written to him?

A.—When I first brought this action I had not seen this announcement at the top of the letter.

Q.—I dare say; but you have seen it since?

A.—Certainly.

Q.—And I suppose, having seen it, you understood that the letter which is complained of was the letter of the correspondent, and not one for which the editor accepted responsibility?

A.—It is quite so.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Can that make any difference in law?

Mr. Macaskie.—Not in law, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Nor in common sense. (Laughter.)

Q.—Now, will you tell me what are the portions of this letter of which you really seriously complain? May I take it, going through them one by one, that the expression "Steeped in sedition" is the first?

A.—Yes, that is the most seriously important.

Q.—Did you read *The Rock* for September 6th?

A.—I really cannot tell you that.

Q.—Do you know that *The Rock* apologized for the use of those words?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I object to the question unless my friend puts in the paper.

Mr. Macaskie.—I have not yet offered to put it in?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I know; but my Lord will keep you within proper bounds.

Mr. Macaskie.—I am sure of that. *The Rock* subsequently expressed its regret?

Mr. Hugo Young.—I object to this unless my learned friend puts the paper in.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I think that must be done.

Mr. Macaskie.—Did you read *The Rock* for September 6th?

A.—I say I cannot tell you whether I did or did not, because I do not carry the details of the different issues in my mind.

Q.—It was the week after the libel.

A.—If you will tell me the substance of the letter or of the passage to which you refer, I could then say whether I had or had not read it.

Q.—It was an article referring to the use of the words, "steeped in sedition."

A.—If you are hinting at some kind of lame apology that was made in the paper, I remember that.

Q.—Did you read the lame apology?

A.—I did; and I beg to say that the charge was brought once more.

Q.—I have not asked you to say anything yet. As my learned friend insists upon it, I think I must now put the paper in. The paragraph runs as follows:—

> "Libel Action against *The Rock*.—Our position as regards the Jesuits.—An unfortunate oversight.—On Saturday last, August 31st, we received a letter from a firm of solicitors stating that they were instructed by the Reverend Bernard Vaughan to commence an action against us for the libel contained in our issue of the 23rd ult.; and requesting the name of our solicitors for service of the writ by return of post. The writ was duly served on Tuesday morning on our solicitors. As the statement

of claim has not yet been delivered, we can only hazard a guess as to what this action is based upon. We presume it applies to a letter from a correspondent signed 'Pro Aris et Focis.' Although the place in which this communication appeared is a free column, and we therein expressly disclaim responsibility for the opinions of our correspondents, it is our practice to carefully expunge any statement which appears inadmissible, or any phrase even which seems too strongly worded. In the present instance we regret to find that there is a phrase of three words which, by an oversight, was not deleted. We repudiate the view of our correspondent that this phrase is applicable to the Reverend Bernard Vaughan. We should be sorry to think that Mr. Vaughan personally could be described as 'seditious' in any popular acceptation of the word. Wondering what possible justification there could be for such a phrase, we at once telegraphed to our correspondent, who lives in a remote country district, to state at once what evidence there was, if any, to warrant its use. This correspondent telegraphs, in reply, there is 'no hurry.'"

I see there they express their regret that that phrase "steeped in sedition" had not been, owing to an oversight, deleted, and repudiating the view that it is applicable to you, and saying that they would be sorry to think that Mr. Vaughan personally could be described as seditious in any fair acceptation of the word. You did not, I think, accept that apology?

A.—I did not.

Q.—And you do not to-day?

A.—No.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I think you ought to read the whole of it.

Mr. Macaskie.—Certainly. It goes on dealing with the general question.

"We entirely disagree with our correspondent on the point, and take the earliest possible opportunity, in this, our first issue since the oversight has come under our personal notice, of expressing our regret for the publication of the obnoxious phrase."

This in larger type :—

"While admitting this point, and hastening to do our duty in this incidental matter, we honestly believe that the Jesuits have not a legal status in this country, and we are prepared to contest this point (which is the main position of our correspondent's letter) on its merits. There is no doubt whatever that the efforts

of the Jesuits have been devoted to setting the authority of the Pope above that of the King and constitution of this country in matters of religion. Were the statute laws of this country enforced as they ought to be enforced, no Jesuit could reside within the four seas, and if he attempted to do so he would be liable to punishment, and if he persisted, to penal servitude for life. To confirm our view we quote from Stephens' *Digest of the Criminal Law*, Article 90 : 'Every Jesuit, and every member of any other religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, who comes into this realm commits a misdemeanour, and is liable, upon conviction thereof, to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life. . . . Every person ordered to be banished who does not depart from the United Kingdom within thirty days may be removed to such place as Her Majesty, by the advice of her Privy Council, directs. Every person ordered to be banished who is found at large in the United Kingdom after three months from such order is liable to penal servitude for life as a maximum punishment.'"

Q.—Did you accept the apology ?

A.—I did not accept that apology.

Q.—And do not to-day ?

A.—No.

Q.—(To plaintiff.)—What is the next passage you complain of—the expression "outlaw" ?

A.—Yes, I complain of that also.

Q.—You know that the Act of Parliament does forbid your presence in this country ?

A.—Yes, there is a technical objection.

Q.—Whether it is technical or not, we shall see.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Well, that is not being an outlaw.

Mr. Macaskie.—I do not say it is. (To plaintiff.)—Has this action been brought by order of your superiors ?

A.—No, it has been brought by my order.

Q.—By your order ?

A.—Yes ; with permission of my superiors, I put the case into the hands of the solicitors who used to act for my father, and now act for my brother, the Cardinal.

Q.—You have the permission of your superiors ?

A.—I have the permission of my superiors.

Q.—You told us yesterday that you had taken, on your admission into the Society, vows, amongst others, of poverty ?

A.—Yes.

Q.—That involves, does it not, that your property, if and when acquired, goes to your ecclesiastical superiors, or to the Society?

Plaintiff.—May I be permitted to answer this question not quite directly?

Mr. Macaskie.—Answer it in your own way.

Plaintiff.—Well, we perform what we call an act of renunciation when we take our vows, and we leave what property is to come to us to any person or charity we like; it does not necessarily go to the Society. But we have nothing which we can claim as our own after our vows.

Q.—In other words, your property when acquired goes either to charity or other purposes?

A.—Yes.

Q.—You have not suffered any pecuniary damage from this libel?

A.—Not that I know of.

Q.—Or as far as you know that anybody else knows of?

A.—I am not so sure about that.

Q.—Can you suggest any pecuniary damage to the extent of one farthing that you have personally suffered from this libel?

A.—I can suggest that some persons, reading that I was accused of being "steeped in sedition," might refuse to give me what they had intended to offer for my works of charity.

Q.—You mean for charitable works?

A.—Yes, for my charitable works.

Q.—I asked you about pecuniary damage?

A.—I do not quite understand your question.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I should think the worst part of the libel in connection with pecuniary damages is the use of the word "outlaw," because that would imply a direct encouragement to others to believe that Jesuits as outlaws could not be libelled.

Q.—Of course that has to be dealt with, my Lord.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

Mr. Macaskie (to plaintiff).—You have not, I apprehend, lost the hospitality of any friend or acquaintance in consequence of that libel?

A.—How can I answer such a question as that?

Q.—I mean, of course, that you know of?

A.—Well, no one has actually written to tell me so. (Laughter.)

Q.—Do you suggest without their writing to tell you so that any one has refused you hospitality or withdrawn it?

A.—Persons who are bigoted and narrow-minded might have so done.

Q.—Might have done: have they?

A.—That I cannot answer for certain.

Q.—Can you name one?

A.—With certainty I cannot name one.

Q.—You do not complain of that part of the letter which deals with the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, do you, Father Vaughan?

A.—In the libel case I do not.

Q.—Do you accept the view that there is no distinction to be drawn between Jesuits and Roman Catholics?

A.—There is none whatever, except that we as regulars have a stricter rule of life.

Q.—You will not deny that in other countries, as well as in England, it has been the practice to draw distinction between the two?

A.—By those misinformed, yes.

Q.—For good reasons or bad the Society has had the misfortune, from time to time, to be expelled from nearly every country in Europe?

A.—That is so.

Q.—And even, I think, had the misfortune, in the year 1773, to be suppressed by Bull of Pope Clement XIV.?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Are you acquainted with the writings of Marianus de Luca?

A.—Yes, I am.

Q.—I think his book on Ecclesiastical Law has received the imprimatur of Signor Carini, the Chief of the Roman Province of your Society?

A.—Yes, it has.

Q.—That imprimatur was given so lately as 1900?

A.—Yes.

(Counsel then put to witness passages from "The Institutions of Canon Law," by Marianus de Luca, Professor of the Text of the Decretals in the Gregorian University, Rome, and bearing the imprimatur of the then Provincial, since deceased, Professor Carini.)

Q.—(To plaintiff).—In the view of your Society the Church has the power of the sword to punish heresy?

A.—Speculatively, yes.

Q.—And by punishment I suppose is meant censure, excommunication, fine, exile, and if need be, death?

A.—Yes, quite so.

Q.—Does this express the correct view: "Heretics despise excommunication, and say that that bolt is powerless; if you threaten them with a pecuniary fine, they neither fear God nor respect man, knowing that they will find fools enough to believe them and support them. If you imprison them or send them into exile they will corrupt those near them with their words and those at a distance with their books, so the only remedy is to send them soon to their own place."

A.—No, that certainly does not express the correct view.

Q.—In what respect does it not express the correct view?

A.—Your quotation, I believe, is from de Luca's book?

Q.—It is a quotation from Bellarmine.

Plaintiff.—May I ask, are you quoting it from de Luca's book?

Mr. Macaskie.—Yes, certainly.

Plaintiff.—May I then say I am glad to have this opportunity of publicly stating that I reject and repudiate all the speculative theories and views to be found in Father de Luca's book as monstrous anachronisms? My Lord, may I explain myself?

Mr. Justice Wills.—You may.

Plaintiff.—I beg then to inform the Court that Father de Luca is set down on the title-page of this book as "Professor Textus Decretalium," which means that he explains to his students the text and meaning of the Decretals which form a main part of the Canon Law of the Church. These Decretals, let me add, date many of them from the Theodosian and Justinian codes. They were first gathered into a Corpus Juris in 1153 by Gratian, and were finally republished with additions in

1313 by Clement V. Now let me remind you that in these Decretals were embodied the provisions of the Theodosian and Justinian codes, which made heresy a civil crime punishable with death. I beg, therefore, to be allowed to say that these Decretals formed part of the Common Law of the Christian States of Europe two centuries before Jesuits ever came into existence at all. In Father de Luca's book, then, there is nothing new, nothing original. The Father Provincial could not withhold his imprimatur just because there was nothing new in the book. The book is simply a reproduction and compilation from ancient authors on Canon Law, and is based on the ancient laws which regulated the relations between Church and State in a bygone day which can never reappear in the future. So that I may say, with Cardinal Manning, since the unity of Christendom was broken up the use of persecution for those who hold religious opinions contrary to ourselves would be a crime and a heresy. (Cheers, which were suppressed.)

Mr. Macaskie (to plaintiff).—Has not your Order practically acted on these principles in the past?

A.—No; it has not.

Q.—Do you mean that it has not had persons put to death for heresy?

A.—That is what I mean.

Q.—Can you suggest how it is that this book has so lately got the imprimatur of your Society?

A.—I have just said, because there is nothing new in the book.

Q.—You regard it as mere speculative opinion?

A.—Mere speculative opinion which never can be brought into practice.

Q.—Do you suggest to this Jury that this speculative opinion is never acted upon in this way in other countries by your Society?

A.—By the Society of Jesus?

Q.—Yes?

A.—Never.

Q.—What, never?

A.—I repeat, never have they been acted upon by the Society of Jesus.

Q.—Has any punishment for heresy been advised by the leaders of your Society?

A.—Not that I am aware of.

Mr. Justice Wills.—What does the imprimatur imply?

Plaintiff.—My Lord, it does not imply an endorsement of the doctrines, it simply says: "I do not see why this should not be published; there is nothing new in it."

Mr. Macaskie.—Your Lordship will find the imprimatur on page 23 [of *The Rock* translation].

> "The work bearing the title *Institutions of Public Ecclesiastical Law*, delivered by P. Marianus De Luca, S.J., now Professor of the text of the Decretals in the Gregorian University, having been examined by certain theologians of the same Society, to whom we handed it, and declared by them fit for publication, we give permission for it to be printed if those to whom it belongs think fit. To whom we have committed this letter, signed by us, and sealed with the seal of our Society."

Q.—Who was Bellarmine?

A.—Cardinal Bellarmine was a Jesuit.

Q.—The words I lately read to you about "sending the heretics to their own place" were his words?

A.—Well, that was not peculiar to Bellarmine; it was a doctrine held just as hard by Luther, Calvin, and I may add even by my own countrymen as it was by Catholics.

Q.—Have you ever repudiated that doctrine of Bellarmine?

A.—Do you mean, have I personally ever repudiated it?

Q.—I want to know has your Society ever repudiated it?

A.—I answer, it is not the business of the Society to repudiate doctrine which the Church approved of as a speculative theory. The doctrine referred to is not Bellarmine's private view—it was, in past times, the common property of Europe.

Q.—Do you suppose there is a sort of speculative killing of heretics?

A.—I should be sorry to think that there was any kind of killing of heretics wished for or sought—speculative or otherwise.

Q.—Now we will pass to another question. Have you got in your constitution a rule that nothing can be published in

the shape of a book or pamphlet unless it is approved by the revisors of the Society appointed for the purpose?

A.—Yes, it is as you say.

Mr. Justice Wills.—That is to say, nothing can be published by a member of the Society?

A.—Not till it has received, my Lord, the imprimatur of some one appointed for the purpose.

Q.—This rule, then, applies to books published by members of the Society?

A.—It does, my Lord, to all their books.

Mr. Justice Wills.—How far is this to go? Because such things as have been read are calculated to do just as much harm to the person who publishes them as to any one else in the present state of society.

Mr. Macaskie.—My Lord, that is true, I admit.

Mr. Justice Wills (to Mr. Macaskie).—Do not let us turn this Court into any scene of unseemly controversy between the professors of different types of religious thought. The real thing is whether this article or letter is calculated to bring the persons to whom it applies into discredit and disrepute. If it does the defendants are liable; if it does not then they are not liable.

Mr. Macaskie said an incautious phrase had been used by the writer; it might be that it was a little too strong, and he was referring to passages of the book as mitigating circumstances.

Mr. Justice Wills.—As far as the mere discussion of the position of the Jesuits or their doctrines on general grounds is concerned, I have nothing to do with them except to uphold, as far as I can, the utmost freedom of discussion.

Mr. Hugo Young.—We do not dissent from that at all, my Lord. We do not raise the least objection to that.

Mr. Justice Wills.—It is a great pity to make use of this opportunity for airing unpleasant things which may be said of a whole body of men.

Mr. Macaskie.—I have not dragged the thing into Court, and I am compelled to show mitigating circumstances, which go far to palliate or excuse the language of the letter.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I should say that it is not necessary to go very far in order to show that many things connected with

the Society of Jesus, many things connected with the doctrines it holds, in a Protestant community with a history like ours, may be justly regarded by many persons as mischievous.

Q.—May I take it, Father Vaughan, that this is the view of the Society, that there is vested in the Pope the power of deposing temporal princes who are wicked and incorrigible, and specially schismatics and heretics?

A.—I deny that there is.

Q.—Can you, then, account for its being found here?

A.—I can, because in a day now gone, when the Pope was the arbiter of Christendom, there was vested in him the power of which you speak. I suppose we all allow that there must be a deposing power somewhere—otherwise how about my own country? how about James II.? When Europe was Catholic the depository of this power was the Pope.

Re-examined by Mr. Hugo Young.

Q.—In the first place, has this question of using the power of the Statute, even in the matter of death in reference to heresies, been confined to Catholics alone?

A.—It has been the universal practice, and really quite as much in one country as in another.

Mr. Justice Wills.—In Calvin's time they were burning people in Geneva; we all know that.

A.—Yes, and Henry VIII. burned Anabaptist.

Mr. Hugo Young.—First of all, as to this book of de Lucas. Is this merely a reproduction of documents and writings of the 12th to 18th centuries.

A.—Quite so. If they had been new doctrines they would never have got the imprimatur.

Q.—And as a matter of history he, in lecturing to his students, has dealt with these old documents.

A.—He has to deal with these old documents, because he is dealing with an old time.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I suppose, Father Vaughan, you would thoroughly agree with me, that if any one attempted to teach such doctrines as have been brought under your notice as living doctrines, applicable to the present day, he would do far more harm to the Society he represented than to anybody he attempted so to teach?

A.—Yes, my Lord; and I may add he would be forbidden to do so.

Mr. Justice Wills.—The person to whom he taught them would reject them, and the Society would be brought into disrepute?

A.—Yes, quite so, my Lord.

Mr. Hugo Young.—Now my learned friend has put in the edition of the 6th of September in which that so-called apology appeared. Have you seen the second edition of *The Rock*, which came out with, printed in red ink upon it, "The Jesuits and *The Rock*. The great test case. About £2,000 required to fight the pending libel action. Every Protestant should help." Can you tell me whether, from that time to this *The Rock* has been what I may call running this paper on quite commercial lines—inviting subscriptions, and acknowledging them week by week?

A.—Yes; and vomiting forth a sewer of filth against the Society.

Q.—Every week since?

A.—Every week since, I should think.

Mr. Justice Wills.—This is pretty strong. Part of this is what Jesuits teach: "The Jesuits teach that lying, theft, parricide and murder are permissible."

Mr. Hugo Young.—Then on the 6th of September they had said that they had communicated with their correspondent about withdrawal, and that he had said there was no hurry, but that they had on their own responsibility withdrawn one word, leaving the rest standing as it was. On the 27th of September, after more matured consideration with this correspondent, did this appear? This is notes by "*Pro aris et facis.*" That is the gentleman who wrote the letter before, and this is his reply to the application to withdraw: "The following introductory notes were not originally intended for publication but for private reference only. The writer consistently declines to admit that statement contained in the published letter required offence, and only undertakes to write articles elucidating and enlarging upon them on condition that this is understood. As there has been no opportunity for rearrangement or elaboration, readers will pardon the somewhat disjointed style of these notes. Nothing new can be written of

the Jesuits. All that can be done is to rewrite and reprove what has been written and proved hundreds of times before. Wherever the Jesuits and their missions penetrate, history becomes an endless chain of repetition." Then he goes on: "Outlaws: that is, out of the King's protection, so that he cannot bring an action, yet he can be slain by any one as the King's enemy, as was anciently held"—that is the one thing that was left for him.

Mr. Justice Wills.—There is some comfort for Father Vaughan in that. (Laughter.)

Mr. Hugo Young.—I do not know whether it would be an advantage if he was reduced to the state to which they want to reduce him. (Laughter.)

Mr. Justice Wills.—Need we have any more of this, Mr. Young?

Mr. Hugo Young.—My Lord, there are a lot of different attacks, and then he goes on to what is Jesuitism; but what I wanted to refer to this for was that it reiterates the libels, because it says he only goes on to write these articles elucidating and enlarging on the direct understanding that there is nothing that requires defence in the letter that he wrote before. That is the point of it quite at the beginning.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I see that.

Mr. Macaskie.—That is quite inconsistent with the views taken by my clients.

Mr. Hugo Young.—They publish that the next week.

Mr. Macaskie.—We are not responsible for what he said.

Mr. Hugo Young.—We shall see. (To the witness.) In addition to the expression that my learned friend referred to, just let me ask you this: Do you think it is fair or pleasant to you to be described as one of the infamous sons of Loyola?

Plaintiff.—I think it is a most painful and disgraceful thing that after I have given up other possible careers in order to try and do service to my fellow-Catholics and fellow-countrymen I should be attacked in this manner. There is nothing secret or hidden in my life: I am before the public preaching, lecturing, mission giving, and yet that I should have these infamous things said against me, and that I should be charged with disloyalty to my King—I will never allow anybody to stand between me and my King. For

a thousand years my family have been here—living as law-abiding subjects, true to King and country; and I say it is very painful to me to have to come into Court to clear my name of these foul imputations. As an English gentleman I reject these slanders entirely, and I submit my case to a jury of my countrymen for justice and redress. (Applause, repressed.)

Mr. Hugo Young.—The Rock says, "Jesuits are men of no nationality and no law." Is that in any sense true?

A.—It is absolutely untrue.

Mr. Hugo Young.—"Who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion, and to another civil war." Is it in any way right to say that doctrines of this sort have ever during the last century, we will say, been taught as matters of active policy by the Jesuits, or any other Catholics?

A.—No; and when we have to deal with them as matters of ancient history, we hate having to do it.

Q.—Are any of these books that are referred to anything at all more than books for study, and the discussion of questions, and not books that you preach from and publish widely or anything of that sort?

A.—No, they are not. The mistake which our opponents make is that they speak of these books, which are written for persons scientifically trained to serve as texts books in the study or lecture hall, as though they were books meant for the preacher and the public. They are meant for the confessor, not for the preacher.

Q.—There are always theoretical questions which learned people who have to go into the matter deeply, have to consider for extreme cases?

A.—Yes; every conceivable case has to be considered.

Q.—Are these matters, which any learned friend has touched upon ever brought before the people by the Jesuits in matters of instruction or preaching, or anything of that kind?

A.—No, never. What is brought before the public as matter of instruction and preaching may be found in the penny Catechism, and in the Roman Catechism.

Q.—Is any word ever spoken by Jesuits that could bear that interpretation?

A.—No word.

Q.—The Jesuits, we heard, have large Catholic schools?

A.—We have several large schools: among them there is Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, and Beaumont College, Old Windsor.

Q.—Could you give any idea how many students from Stonyhurst and Beaumont have been fighting for their King and country in South Africa?

A.—I think over one hundred old Stonyhurst boys have gone to the front, and three of them, at different times, have won the Victoria Cross. More than one hundred Beaumont boys have also fought in South Africa. That is what we have taught them to do.

Q.—I believe many have lost their lives there?

A.—Yes, it is so.

Q.—There is one other of these papers I should like to refer to, and that is the one of the 16th of May in this year, in which this paragraph appears: "Our readers will perhaps pardon us if we again refer to our needs in connection with the rapidly approaching trial. They have done well, but perhaps they can do more by influencing others to come to our aid. Recent developments have greatly depleted our funds, and in any case the struggle calls for at least £500 more than we have at command. It is a matter for prayer and for private effort on the part of every individual sympathiser. We feel sure we shall not appeal in vain." I believe some little time ago the letter box of *The Rock* was broken?

A.—I believe it was—a most serious affair. (Laughter.)

Q.—Do you remember that they suggested that the Jesuits did it.

A.—Yes, indeed they did. (Laughter.)

Mr. Macaskie.—Really, I must object to this. I shall take your Lordship's ruling about this—whether in re-examination anything about breaking into a letter-box can be gone into.

Mr. Justice Wills.—I think we may stop there.

Closing Speeches.

Mr. Macaskie.—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury, it now becomes my duty to address a

few observations to you on behalf of the Defendant on what in Court has become a controversy more ecclesiastical than personal. It is hard to see at once how this action is put. It is not put, or it was not yesterday, at all events, as a mere personal attack on Father Vaughan. It was suggested that it was an attack also upon the Society of Jesuits, to which he belongs, and more than that, that there was nothing to discriminate between them and any other Roman Catholics. Now, gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary here to go at any length into the history and teaching, or the present opinions, of the Society of Jesus, although it is impossible, in a case of this sort, altogether to shut out from one's consideration the matters that have been proved here to-day by the book I put into the Plaintiff's hands. Now I do not propose to make any unnecessary attack upon the Society, although I hope that the thought will not enter into your minds that the Society has done anything to justify the receipt of such a whitewashing certificate as seems to be thought necessary in this action. I am not here to deny the courage of the members of the Society of Jesus, nor the self-sacrificing devotion of its members to the interests of their Church, and especially to the interests of their own Society. Every historian, every one who has read history, is perfectly acquainted with their services and the conduct of the Jesuits on that side, at all events. I do not doubt that the Church of Rome is to them very largely indebted indeed for their services since the Reformation in rolling back Protestantism from the top of the Alps to the bottom. But, gentlemen, I have not to deal with any attack on the Jesuits, because the Jesuits are not suing in this action ; and it would be evil day if a man might not in

England speak his mind freely upon this Society, or any other Society. No; we have here to deal with the observations made in this correspondent's letter concerning Father Vaughan, and Father Vaughan alone. Now let us see what the attack made upon him, so far as it is an attack, consists of. It is to be noted that there is no personal attack upon him in his individual capacity. There is nothing said in that libel which I can discover which reflects upon him except as a member of that huge Society, the Society of Jesus. There is no attack, in other words, upon his personal honour. He is attacked, in so far as he is attacked, as a member of the Society of Jesus, and if it were true that he were an outlaw by virtue of the Act of 1829, to which I shall have to draw your attention, as in part, at all events, indicating that he and his Order have been placed in that position, and if it were true that he was concerned in opinions, or in spreading opinions which are seditious, would any one as a man of business treat that as any reflection upon his private honour or his private character? Now what is the meaning of "steeped in sedition"? What is sedition? I find in one of the large dictionaries, the Imperial, that the first definition of "sedition" is, "A factious commotion in a State, not amounting to an insurrection; the stirring up of such a commotion; such offences against the State as have the like tendency with, but do not amount to, treason." It is not treason, and is no crime. That is the sort of language, in other words, that is used by one party concerning the efforts of another to alter, except by lawful means, the constitution as established in Church and State, and I rejoice to find that that is substantially the definition of "Sedition" which is given by a very great criminal Judge, the late Mr.

Justice FitzJames Stephen, in his book upon the Criminal Law. It cannot be said here that these people were engaged by lawful means in any attempt to alter the constitution of the Church or State as they are now established, because I shall show you by a reference to the Act of 1829 their very presence—rightly or wrongly—is unlawful and amounts to a misdemeanour on the part of each of them, and if the law was enforced by the Attorney-General, or by any zealous Protestant, it would render the Jesuits liable to the heavy punishment they have incurred. But, gentlemen, after all, what is sedition? What sort of reflection upon a man is it to say he is seditious? I suppose there were never more seditious persons in history than John Hampden or George Washington, and there are no men that stand higher in history at the present moment; and if you come to our own century you can take the names of other people and make the same remark with regard to them. It is a term of political abuse. It is a term you use to describe the efforts of the man you are opposed to in politics, or in religion, involving, therefore, no reflection upon the private honour or honesty or reputation of the individual as to whose conduct the phrase is used.

Now, gentlemen, let me turn to the other matter of complaint. The other matter of complaint is that this gentleman was termed an outlaw. Before I deal with that let me remind you that the complaints he has made are confined to those two. It is true his learned Counsel, my learned friend, Mr. Hugo Young, making, as he was bound to do, the most of his case, read out the whole, with the exception of a part, which was not very material, of this letter from a correspondent, but you remember when I asked Father Vaughan in the

box, "What is it you complain of—'steeped in sedition?'" he said, "Yes." "Outlaw?" "Yes. Anything else?" "No." He could not remember anything else, showing how little impression anything else in the libel made upon him, even when he brought his action. It comes to this: that in order to magnify this mole-hill into a mountain you have got to spell out the attack upon the Society into an attack upon him by saying, "Why, here is strong language used of the Society: this man is a member of the Society: therefore, he is libelled just as if the libel had been upon the Mohammedans and the Roman Catholics, and a Mohammedan or Roman Catholic brought an action for libel because of the attack upon his Order."

Now, gentlemen, let us look for a moment at the circumstances of the publication of this libel. According to the letter, although Father Vaughan has made no inquiry into the matter—and that is most significant—a Bill for the repeal of that clause and for other relief of the Jesuits was pending in Parliament. He does not know that. All I can say is, that he must live secluded from the world if he does not know of Bills so vitally affecting the interests of his Order; but although that was so, we know this: that these were his two matters of complaint, and not only was that Bill, according to the writer, pending in Parliament at the time—a Bill of vital importance to those who take the extreme Protestant view in this country, and to those who suffer from the disabilities which the Jesuits do suffer from in this country—but there were curious complaints being made, attacks had been made, or were supposed to have been made, upon Mr. Thurston, Mr. Gerard, and, I think, somebody else, and an attack seems also to have been made by Mr. Thurston upon Mr. Ware, a dis-

tinguished Protestant, I believe, of bygone times, and those were followed up by other threats, or threats of writs and actions, and under those circumstances this letter is sent to the editor of *The Rock*. Now, gentlemen, I admit, and freely admit, that the expression "steeped in sedition," although really very little more than abuse, was an unfortunate expression, and as far as my client could, they endeavoured immediately, or almost immediately—within the next issue, or the next issue but one, by the paragraphs which they inserted—to remove any impression that might have been created by that expression, which was injurious to Father Vaughan. They state, first of all, how the error took place, by an oversight; secondly, they repudiate the view that it can be properly applied to Father Vaughan; and thirdly, they express their regret. Most gentlemen would have been content with so ample an apology; but Father Vaughan was not, and technically perhaps he was entitled to refuse to be content with this apology because there remained behind the charge, which was not withdrawn, and which you remember, that members of his Order, including himself, were outlaws, whatever that may mean. It is not easy to find out nowadays what an outlaw does mean. Now, gentlemen, under those circumstances the letter goes on. It is preceded by a headline in which the editor says in effect: "Mark you: these are not my words. I am not responsible for them. They are the opinions of my correspondents." Now, I agree, if I may respectfully say so, with what fell from my Lord, that it is no answer, in point of law, to a charge that you have libelled a man, to say, "At the same time I put in a heading saying, 'This is the opinion, not of myself, but of a correspondent: it is his work, and not mine.'"

But although that is so in law, from the point of view of common sense it makes the greatest difference in the world whether a man by an oversight gives expression and publicity to a letter from a correspondent couched possibly in language too strong, or whether he writes seriously and deliberately a defamatory statement as expressing his own personal opinions. One is intentional; the other is accidental, or an oversight as in this case. Gentlemen, so much for the circumstances of the publication of the libel.

Now let us see what Father Vaughan has lost. He has been perfectly frank about that matter, and it will be within your recollection, I dare say, that neither when he was in the box did I, nor do I now, desire to make the slightest reflection either upon his evidence or his conduct in the matter, but when he was challenged he admitted that in point of fact he was unable to point to any damage which he had suffered by reason of this libel. All he could say was that people might think this or that, and people might do this or might do the other, but when challenged as to whether any single individual had inflicted upon him any loss, or withdrawn from him any pecuniary gain, or whether any hospitality had been withdrawn from him, he was unable to do it. So, gentlemen, it stands in this way: that no pecuniary damage has been suffered by Father Vaughan. Now that distinguishes this case from most cases of libel, but there is upon this branch of the case a further observation to be made. Father Vaughan told us frankly enough that by the constitution of his Order he was under a vow of poverty, and that whatever property, damages, or anything else should come to him would immediately go over to his Society, or to his Church, or to some charity, no doubt connected

with it. So far as pecuniary damage is concerned, nothing that you can do can make the slightest difference to him.

Gentlemen, I have referred to the circumstances of the publication of the libel. Now let us look at the action. The action is brought by Father Vaughan with the leave of the Superior of the Order. I do not wonder that that leave was given. Possibly you will think that as the action could not proceed without his leave, and as he has given his leave, as Father Vaughan told us, and as any damages that you might give will go where Father Vaughan has told us, that this is in substance as much an action by the Society as by Father Vaughan himself. Now, gentlemen, let us look at the position that Father Vaughan takes up in regard to the complaint that he has been spoken of as being in the position of an outlaw. He treated, I think I must say, the Statute of 1829 in a very light and airy way. You will remember that up to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the Roman Catholics in this country were subject to serious disabilities, which it is not necessary that I should now enumerate. By that Act they were relieved of their disabilities, subject to some slight terms for the security of the State, but the Jesuits were placed upon a very different ground, and in a very different position from that in which the other Roman Catholic subjects of the Sovereign were placed.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Monastic Orders in general were placed in the same position.

Mr. Macaskie.—Certainly, my Lord. The objection of Parliament was to the Society of Jesuits, and to monastic Orders, and in order to place those upon a very different footing special sections of the Act of Parliament were enacted. I refer to those partly because it goes far to

explain the use of the term "outlaw," whatever that may mean, and partly because it so completely—I submit it to your better judgement—demolishes the contention put forward by my learned friend in opening this case, and also by Father Vaughan in the box, that there is no practical distinction to be drawn between an ordinary Roman Catholic and a member of the Society of Jesus. By the Statute of 1829 it is provided in Section 28: "And whereas Jesuits, and members of other religious Orders, Communities, or Societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, are resident within the United Kingdom; and it is expedient to make provision for the gradual suppression and final prohibition of the same therein; be it therefore enacted"; and then, without wearying you, gentlemen, with the language of the various sections, provisions are made by which every Jesuit of that day was, within six months, to send in a statement of his name and residence, and so on, to the Secretary of State, and to depart from the kingdom, subject to the payment of a fine if he did not. Then any Jesuits coming into the realm were to be banished subject to their getting a licence from the Secretary of State, which is not the case here; and then there is a provision that any person admitted a Jesuit or member of such religious Order admitting a person to be a member of his Order shall be guilty of a misdemeanour; and then comes Section 34, which is the section which applies to the present Plaintiff, and which I say goes far to explain the use of the term "outlaw" in connection with the Jesuits. It runs thus, and it is still the law of the land: "And be it further enacted that in case any person shall, after the commencement of this Act, within any part of this United, Kingdom, be admitted or become a Jesuit, or brother

or member of any such religious Order, Community, or Society as aforesaid, such person shall be deemed and taken to be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being thereof lawfully convicted shall be sentenced and ordered to be banished from the United Kingdom for the term of his natural life." Then there is a further provision in Section 36 that if he is at large after three months he may be transported for life. That is the state of the law at the present day, subject to my Lord's direction, concerning the Jesuits. Gentlemen, we heard propounded by Father Vaughan from the witness-box the extraordinary theory that this Statute of George IV. was what he called obsolete. Others may be better informed, but I know of no warrant in law for the theory that a Statute can lose its force by becoming obsolete. The Statute of Treasons is much older than this; the Act of Settlement, upon which the Protestant succession to the Throne depends, is much older also, but I hope it could not be contended that either of them is obsolete, or that any other Statute of George IV. is obsolete. We need not consider that, neither need we consider the fantastical theory set up by Father Vaughan that Sir Robert Peel could upset an Act of Parliament, or that any statesman could. The law is the law, and a statute is a statute, and nobody can repeal it but Parliament. If any further argument for that were necessary, it is enough to say that in 1871 Parliament had to consider this matter, and it passed an Act by which it repealed the Act of 1829, excepting the sections applicable to the Jesuits, and the sections were in that Act of Parliament expressly named; and therefore I say it is idle to pretend to-day that the Jesuits are not subject to the provisions of the Act of 1829, and if they are, their presence upon this soil of England is unlaw-

ful, and upon being prosecuted they may in the result be banished. I think there is a Statute by which for all transportation for life penal servitude has been substituted. Now no one desires, at least I hope not, to put the provisions of any Act of Parliament of a penal character unnecessarily in motion against people who behave themselves decently and in ordinary fashion; but when you find various religious controversies on foot it is not to be wondered at that a correspondent not skilled in the law, finding a provision that these people are to be banished, and may not remain in England, and may not be in England, should say that they are outlaws. What practical difference does it make between saying that a man is an outlaw, and saying that by Statute he ought not to be allowed to remain, and ought to be transported for life? It makes no practical difference. One is true, and the other is in substance practically true. It is a mere figure of speech indicating practically the same thing. Under those circumstances, what reasonable ground of complaint is there that this correspondent, seeing the situation, drew attention to the flagrant and daily breach of the law which every one of the Jesuits are committing? Now, gentlemen, what is Father Vaughan's position in the matter? He is compelled to come into Court admitting the existence of the Statute, and unless you adopt the theory that Acts of Parliament become obsolete within thirty years, he is compelled to admit, unless that be so, he is in daily disobedience and defiance of the Acts of Parliament, and he appeals to you by the same law which day by day he defies for the redress, or rather for the damages, which by the leave of his superior he hopes to obtain at your hands.

Now, gentlemen, one word more regarding that Act

upon which, I think, so much in this case turns. It is not an Act which requires any defence, because it is justified by a thousand incidents that have happened in the experience of Parliament in the history of our own land. I can understand why my learned friend Mr. Hugo Young was so eager to put his client, and the Society of his client, the Society of Jesus, upon a par with the ordinary Roman Catholics, but you do not have to look very far to see the difference in the conduct of the ordinary English Roman Catholic and the conduct of the Jesuits in times past in England. It is quite sufficient to compare the efforts of the Jesuits in the time of Queen Elizabeth to carry into effect the Papal Bull to depose Elizabeth with the loyalty of the English Roman Catholics at the time of the Armada. The same thing might be said of the incidents we are familiar with in the time of James I., and, more significant still, of the difference there was between the Jesuits and the Pope himself and English Roman Catholics on the other side concerning the incidents and breaches of the law which necessitated for the preservation of our constitution the Revolution of 1688. So it was that in 1820, when Parliament had to deal with the matter, Parliament in a considered judgement affirmed the distinction, and drew the broadest denoting margin between the ordinary Roman Catholics and the members of the Society of Jesus. Now, gentlemen, if that be so, are you going to be severe upon an honest although, it may be, a misguided correspondent, who, in the heat of ecclesiastical controversy, has used a phrase a little too strong or a little too wide? I hope not. It is your right to return a general verdict for the Plaintiff or for the Defendant; or if you think some injury has been done to Father Vaughan which can be repaired by damages in this

action brought by the leave of his superior, then you must give him such damages as you think fit. I should hope, even if you find for the Plaintiff, that they will be exceedingly small under the circumstances, for in matters of religious controversy all the blows are not on one side. People who embark in these things must expect on one side and the other that there will be hard knocks, and unless a man can point to some real pecuniary damage, or some libel which so affects his character that those about him think the worse of him, why then it is a triviality, and never ought to be brought into Court. When this case was opened it rested upon this: that they said of him he was seditious. They apologized for it, and withdrew it, and regretted it. Then it was said that he was an outlaw. That was explained, and except technically amply justified by the provisions of the Act of 1829. If you think that here this was no private quarrel between the parties, no private motive of a malicious character in the mind of the gentleman who as editor or sub-editor passed this letter, then you ought to take a different view from that for which the Plaintiff contends. It is right in a case of this sort, as I submit to you, when you find that which has been said is perhaps a little too strong, or a little too violent, a thing written in the heat of religious controversy, then, if the man is honest on the one side and on the other, and no appreciable damage has been done, you ought to throw the cloak of your protection about the honest correspondent and the honest editor.

Sir Edward Clarke, K.C.—Gentlemen, I am very sorry it has been impossible for me to have discharged all the duties that fall upon me with regard to this case, but I should like now, at its close, to have the opportunity of saying some few words to you on behalf of Father

Vaughan, who has come into Court here—who has been forced into Court by the attack which has been made upon him by the Defendants in this case, and with regard to which he asks you to do him simple justice in this matter. My learned friend, in the course of an ingenious speech, has from time to time thrown out suggestions about "an action brought by the leave of the Society," and that sort of thing, with a view, I am afraid, of endeavouring to find somewhere in that jury-box some corner where prejudice may exist with regard to particular forms of religious belief, and to apply that prejudice to a sentiment, honourable in itself, to induce you to give but small damages to Father Vaughan. Father Vaughan, gentlemen, has appealed to you, and it is not a question of Father Vaughan's honour because it has been admitted that the phrase which has been applied to Father Vaughan is an opprobrious phrase, a phrase under which no one would rest for a moment without insisting that the man who used it with regard to him should either withdraw it, or be punished for the use of it. My learned friend has endeavoured to coax you into giving a very small verdict to Father Vaughan upon certain grounds which, I confess, seem to me to be wholly inapplicable to this case. He has talked of an honest contributor, feeling strongly on religious matters, entering into a controversy, and from the strength of his feelings being led to use language which was a little too strong with regard to one of his fellow-subjects. Gentlemen, I will not stop to discuss how far my learned friend is entitled to call these sort of things "religious controversy" at all. There does not seem very much religion of any sort or kind in the attack which has been made in these papers, and in assailing the character of Father Vaughan

and others who agree with him. However, let us pass from that for a moment. Suppose it is, and ought properly to be called, a "religious controversy." What is the case here? This is not an action against an individual who, feeling very strongly on the matter, has allowed himself to be tempted for a moment into using language which was not strictly accurate. This is an action against a newspaper which printed that attack in its columns. It is an action against the Company that printed it, that traded upon it, and made it a means of obtaining financial support, and pecuniary help, for the newspaper which has, since the time when this libel was written and published, been blazoning forth everywhere that it is the champion of what it is pleased to call "Protestantism"; and that, as the champion of Protestantism, it is entitled to the subscriptions of the people in order to fight this case. Why, gentlemen, it is not a question of a misguided controversialist whose too eager mind has led him to use a phrase which cannot be justified; it is a newspaper trading upon libel; and, having libelled Father Vaughan in a way which it cannot now defend—which it cannot even find a lawyer to justify anywhere with regard to the accusations which have been made—has been from that day to this trying to collect money for its own support in consequence of having made this attack.

Now, gentlemen, what is the attack? It is not only a question of "the Rev. Bernard Vaughan, another of these outlaws, one steeped in sedition"—the attack is not confined to that. Father Vaughan is an English gentleman, a member of a good old English family, who has spent his life in this country free from blame or reproach, and who has devoted himself, under the

vows to which my learned friend has referred, to the teaching of that which he believes to be the highest truth, namely, the truths which he believes to be important to all members of Christian society. Against him no accusation of any kind can be or has been made. His life has been a blameless one, and it has been passed among his fellow-countrymen in discharge of what he believes to be his duty, and it is against him that this attack is made. "Is there not one lawyer to come forward and to remind the British public that Jesuits are outlaws and their pretended 'actions' null and void?" The answer is, "No, there is no one—no lawyer can be found to say such a thing." Gentlemen, the Jesuits are not outlaws. Their actions are not null and void. Here before my Lord, Father Vaughan is entitled to invoke the authority and assistance of the law in pursuance of his rights as an Englishman, and in that capacity he comes before twelve of his fellow-countrymen to repudiate imputations of the grossest kind. "Men who own no nationality, no law, save the will of their own General, who were the sole cause of two revolutions here, and who every day perpetrate crimes against our laws and constitution by inciting Romanists to rebellion and to another civil war." Then he is called one of "the infamous sons of Loyola." It is well enough to make an appeal to a jury, and I hope that appeal will never be made without a willing response from a jury when they are asked to consider whether a man ought to be attacked in a free discussion of public affairs or in a free discussion of matters, whether they refer to politics or religion or other matters of great public importance. But when an appeal is made to a jury to extend leniency and tolerance to a man who thinks that he is forwarding

the cause of religion by putting foul, slanderous libels of this kind into his writings, surely I may rely upon the jury for taking a stronger and more temperate view —a view far more consonant with the spirit of religion and with the principle of freedom, and to insist that protection should be given to any man against whom such accusations are made. My learned friend repeated several times that it was a thing which was said in a hurry, or that a little too much was said perhaps, and that they had apologized for it. Why, gentlemen, you have had before you this so-called apology. This is the apology which they printed : "Libel action against *The Rock*. Our position as regards the Jesuits. An unfortunate oversight." That is to say, they say that by an unfortunate oversight they put in the words — they slipped in, in fact ; but there is not a syllable of apology for calling the Rev. Father Vaughan "one of the infamous sons of Loyola"—not a syllable of apology for saying that he and those associated with him were daily committing crimes against their country—not a sentence of apology for suggesting that they are not to be believed on their oaths or for saying that they are outlaws who ought to be driven out of any English court of law, but in the very same paper in which that pretence of an apology is put this appears : "The Jesuits and *The Rock*. The great test case." Test of what, I wonder ? The test of the way in which *The Rock* deals with matters of this kind ? Then it goes on to say : "Every Protestant should help." Help how ? Why, by subscribing to *The Rock* and helping to pay the salaries of those who are running this newspaper and selling it from week to week for their own profit. Gentlemen, do consider this : that in the very number in which they published their

so-called apology there appears this, "The Jesuits teach that equivocation, lying, theft, parricide, murder are permissible under certain circumstances," and that suggestion is put in connection with the case in which Father Vaughan is obliged to come into Court and ask you for your verdict. "Will you help?" Then there is an appeal for £2,000. Then there is a later appeal only for just another £500—to help them to do what? Why, to help them to make a miserable appeal to a jury to let them off because a man had only said a little more than he was entitled to say, and because the money that was to be paid would not go into Father Vaughan's own pocket. As a matter of fact he has no reason to be ashamed of the obligation which he took upon himself many years ago that his life should be devoted not to the purpose of gain, but to the highest services to which a man could possibly devote his life. He has no reason to be ashamed of that; but is that fact, that he has chosen to deny to himself the enjoyment of wealth and the accumulation of means (the possession of which is often more attractive because of the opportunities of work that can be done for others than for the mere enjoyment which it brings to a man himself) is the fact that he has denied himself these things to be made a topic by which you are to be induced to penalize him for having brought this action? There is the expense of bringing an action of this kind, and the incidental anxiety of the action, which can only be met, I suggest, by substantial damages being given by you in this case—all that he has had to face; and when he comes here there is now no suggestion that he is a man of dishonourable character or that there is anything to be complained of as to the way in which his life has been led. But this

newspaper, which has been collecting moneys for the purpose of fighting this case, you are asked to excuse. not because it has not got the money, for it appears to have collected substantial sums, but you are asked to excuse it on these suggestions which have been put forward by my learned friend. No one will say that Jesuits are outlaws. My learned friend says that there is only a technical difference, because there is an Act of Parliament on the Statute Book with regard to Jesuits and members of monastic Orders being admitted into this country. The distinction is a very grave one. If Jesuits were outlaws their appeal to the law courts would be of no use at all, they would have no rights of any sort or kind ; but no lawyer ventures to suggest that they are in any such position. They can undertake legal obligations, they can own land or houses, or do anything that other members of the community can do ; but according to my learned friend's suggestion the one thing which they cannot do, or cannot do with effect, is to defend their own character against attacks of this nature. Here, in the name of the freedom of the Press, conduct is attempted to be justified or excused which is as inconsistent with the true freedom of political or religious discussion as anything could possibly be. It is true that the damages which you give in this case will not go into Father Vaughan's own pocket, or be used for his own purposes or for his own advantage, but he has a disposing authority with regard to them, and if there should be anything left after the costs of this action have been dealt with he will be able in some way to dispose of that. But what has that to do with this case ? Here is an Englishman appealing to his fellow-countrymen—you, gentlemen, in the jury-box—to be justified

in respect of a slanderous statement made about him with regard to which no attempt has been made to justify it—a man whose life is admitted to have been a life of honour and integrity, and against whom no personal accusation can be made—that man, surely, when he is obliged to come into Court to protest against an attack of this kind ought to receive at your hands a very handsome verdict.

The Judge to the Jury.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Gentlemen of the Jury,—This is an action for libel. It is sufficient to say that a libel is any writing which tends to bring the subject of attack in it into public hatred, contempt, or disrepute. I suppose there is no doubt about the tendency of these articles, because although the two principal points which have been mentioned and dwelt upon by Father Vaughan are the expressions about his being "steeped in sedition" and his being "an outlaw," one cannot fail, also, to see that the most offensive things that can possibly be said have been said of the Jesuits, and he is put forward as a man — as a Jesuit — who owns no nationality, and no law save the will of his own General, and so on. It is undoubtedly a very offensive article as far as he is concerned, but still, gentlemen, that is entirely for you ; it is a question for the jury, and not for the judge, and it has been so for nearly one hundred years past. Therefore it is entirely for you to say, and not for me to say, whether this is a libel or not. But assuming that it is, then it is a mere question of damages. Now, you know, no one can regret more than I do the introduction of a great many of the topics which have been dealt with in this case. They are

very difficult to avoid, I grant, but we are not here to discuss religious controversies, or to discuss questions of social and general policy. People are entitled to have the widest possible difference of views, and to express those differences as strongly as they like upon all matters of general politics and social interest. Unfortunately when the subject of discussion is connected with anything like religious controversy, generally speaking, the spirit, which should be the spirit of religion, is gone, and all the elements of human passion, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness seem to be let loose, and of course the tone of this article and of the other articles (and there have been many other articles and parts of articles which have been referred to) are singular illustrations of this, perhaps, somewhat remarkable exhibition of the kind of innate weakness in human nature to which I refer, but I am afraid it must almost always be so. I have been saying to myself for the last two days, *pax vobiscum--benedicto benedicatur ;* and yet on the very day on which one has been rejoicing in peace, one gets involved in a sickening controversy of this kind, from which all the elements of peace and charitableness have been by this publication banished. Well, gentlemen, you may find this is a libel ; you may think it is a very offensive thing to say of a gentleman, who is a member of an old English family, that he is "steeped in sedition," a charge for which there does not seem to be a particle of foundation, except by a most far-fetched application of an argument founded on the Catholic Emancipation Act ; you may think that that is a most improper way of simply saying that there is an Act of Parliament in force under which he may be, if proper steps are taken, banished from this country, and under which it may be an offence to

be a Jesuit; you may think that is not what people would naturally suppose was meant by his being described as "steeped in sedition;" and you may think, also, that that is a very exaggerated way of describing the incidence of that law, into which I need not go, because it has been correctly described to us by both the learned Counsel for the Plaintiff and for the Defendant; you may think it is an extravagant and most offensive way of describing the incidence and operation of that law, to call him "an outlaw;" you may think that that is carried still further, as it certainly is, in this article by making this practical application of it, which, if it were true, would let loose a stream of calumny upon every member of a monastic Order in the Kingdom without redress. This is so, for not content with having described him as steeped in sedition, and so on, it says that one of these outlaws—that is the present Plaintiff—commenced an action against the Editor of *The Chatham and Rochester News*, and then it goes on: "Why has the truth been kept from that editor?" The meaning of that, gentlemen, is this: That editor had done what he ought to have done; he had apologized, and paid the costs, and there was an end of the matter; but it says, "Why is the truth kept from him? If he had known the truth he never would have done that." What they mean to say is that even were the oath proved false—I don't know what oath that means—the oath, I think, which it is suggested that the Jesuits take—even if that oath were proved false (and it never was), Jesuits cannot be libelled. That is in italics, so as to call attention to it. "They are outlaws, and outlaws have no legal rights either as corporations or as individuals." If they were outlaws that would be true. An outlaw used to be a person

who in early English law had no rights. In very early days anybody was at liberty to kill him if he got the chance, but fortunately, as one of the quotations which has been referred to in the course of the case, says, that is no longer so. But there were, until a few years ago, persons who were outlaws and who, by virtue of being outlaws, were deprived of the privilege which belongs to anybody else of bringing actions in order to support their legal rights—and the invitation here is to the newspapers to take advantage of that, and to represent that no Jesuit can be libelled, and therefore no action for libel can be brought, and that you are free to say what you like about them. Now, gentlemen, if you think that that is, in the sense in which I have explained to you, a libel, then it is a mere question of damages. There is an apology published as soon as this is brought to the notice of the editor, and of course that ought to be taken into consideration in assessing the damages. I am not surprised at Father Vaughan feeling that that was not at all an adequate apology. I should not have thought it was. No doubt it is quite true it does express the regret of the editor for its having found its way into the paper, but it goes on to repeat as much as they dare to repeat what they said against the Order to which this gentleman belongs, and most of us would feel, if we were intimately associated with persons who were still held up as necessarily enemies of society, and as persons necessarily to be avoided—if we found in the same breath in which the apology was offered that we were still held up to further opprobrium in consequence of our connection with our friends, I think we should very likely say we did not feel that the apology was adequate.

Now, gentlemen, I do not, of course, ask you to take

into consideration at all the mere language of general controversy in matters of this kind. That is harmless, and it is permissible. It may be in very bad taste, and to my mind a good deal of it is in shocking taste, but then I hope I am a man of peace, and I have learnt in the course of my life, if I have learnt nothing else, some small measure of Christian charity; but the mere fact that these articles are extravagant, and go beyond good taste and good feeling, is nothing to the purpose. The question is, what sort of imputation do they cast with regard to Father Vaughan? You are the judges of that, and, if you think they do convey serious imputations, imputations which have no ground, then your damages ought to be such as will mark your sense that all legitimate limits of controversy had been greatly exceeded, and I cannot help feeling in all these cases that to a certain extent the damages ought to mark the feeling of the jury with regard to matters of that kind, and, as has often been said before, when there is no pecuniary damage (and nobody supposes there is any pecuniary damage to Father Vaughan) it is not illegitimate to take into consideration that it is desirable to put an end and a stop to this kind of thing, which can only be done by reasonable and substantial damages. It certainly will not be done if you accept the invitation of the learned counsel for the defendants, namely, to hustle Father Vaughan out of Court with a contemptuous verdict, which would be a direct encouragement to everybody else to tread in the same lines as this paper has walked in.

Gentlemen, I have no more to say to you. You will take the matter into your consideration, and if you think it is a libel you will find for the Plaintiff with such reasonable damages as you think an English gentleman,

if he has been aspersed, is entitled to. A great deal has been said to you, I do not know how many times Mr. Macaskie has said it, but he never mentioned the fact about this action having been brought without adding "with the consent of his superiors." We all know what that means. It means, Do not you do anything to pat the Jesuits as a body on the back. It means, Take into account against him that this may be to some extent an action which his superior desires to be brought. But I do not think that is legitimate at all. If you were all members of the Society of Jesus yourselves, I should say to you, you must not give a farthing more because he belongs to the Society of Jesus, and because your sympathies might be with him ; and I say do not give a farthing less because he is a member of the Society of Jesus, in so far as that may tend to make your sympathies against him. Let us administer justice here, free from sympathy, free from passion, free from prejudices, and let us say, if you think an English gentleman has been libelled, and that his character has been taken away as far as the words could do it by this article, give him such damages as will show that there is no foundation for the imputations that have been made. Will you be good enough to consider your verdict, gentlemen?

The Verdict.

The Jury retired at 12.40, and returned into Court at 1.10.

Mr. Justice Wills.—During the course of the hearing of this case there have been some attempts at an expression of feeling. I hope there will be no expression of any such sort when the verdict is given.

The Associate.—Have you agreed on your verdict, gentlemen ?

The Foreman of the Jury.—We have.

The Associate.—Do you find for the Plaintiff or for the Defendant ?

The Foreman of the Jury.—For the Plaintiff.

The Associate.—With any damages ?

The Foreman of the Jury.—£300.

Mr. Hugo Young.—I ask your Lordship for judgement.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

Mr. Hugo Young. There is a question, my Lord, about some costs in Chambers which your Lordship will, perhaps, allow my learned friend to deal with.

Mr. Denis O'Conor.—I also ask for a certificate for a special jury.

Mr. Justice Wills. –A certificate for a special jury—certainly.

Mr. Denis O'Conor.—My Lord, the defendants by their defence did not admit publication, and we wrote them a letter asking them whether that was purely a formal denial or whether they intended to rely on it, and asking them to admit. They refused to admit, and we had to interrogate, and the Master reserved the costs until the trial. I now ask for those costs.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes, I think you are entitled to them.

Mr. Denis O'Conor.—They were the costs of an application for interrogatories.

Mr. Justice Wills.—Yes.

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